THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE OF Marcus Tullius Cicero.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

LIFE

OF

Marcus Tullius Cicero.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

Hunc igitur ſpectemus. Hoc propoſitum ſit nobis exemplum. Ille ſe profeciſſe ſciat, cui CICERO *valde placebit.*

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MDCCLXVII.

THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE OF *M. TULLIUS CICERO.*

SECT. VI.

CICERO's return was, what he himſelf truly calls it, *the beginning of a new life* to him [*a*]; which was to be governed by new maxims, and a new kind of policy; yet ſo as not to forfeit his old character. He had been made to feel in what hands the weight of power lay, and what little dependence was to be placed on the help and ſupport of his Ariſtocratical friends: Pompey had ſerved him on this important occaſion very ſincerely, and with the concurrence alſo of Cæſar; ſo as to make it a point

A. Urb. 696. Cic. 50. Coſſ. P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS SPINTHER, Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS NEPOS.

[*a*] Alterius vitæ quoddam initium ordimur. [ad Att. 4. 1.] In another place, he calls his reſtoration to his former dignity, παλιγγενεσίαν, [ad Att. 6. 6.] or a new birth; a word borrowed probably from the *Pythagorean* ſchool, and applied afterwards by the ſacred Writers to the renovation of our nature by Baptiſm, as well as our reſtoration to life, after death, in the general reſurrection. Matt. xix. 29. Tit. iii. 5.

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of gratitude, as well as prudence, to be more obſervant of them than he had hitherto been: the Senate, on the other hand, with the Magiſtrates and the honeſt of all ranks, were zealous in his cauſe; and the *Conſul Lentulus* above all ſeemed to make it *the ſole end and glory of his adminiſtration* [*b*]. This uncommon conſent of oppoſite parties in promoting his reſtoration, drew upon him *a variety of obligations, which muſt needs often claſh and interfere with each other*; and which it was his part ſtill to manage ſo, as to make them conſiſtent with his honour, his ſafety, his private, and his public duty: theſe were to be the ſprings and motives of his *new life*; the hinges on which his future conduct was to turn; and to do juſtice ſeverally to them all, and aſſign to each *its proper weight and meaſure of influence*, required his utmoſt ſkill and addreſs [*c*].

THE day after his arrival, *on the fifth of September*, the Conſuls ſummoned the Senate, to give him an opportunity of paying his thanks to them in public for their late ſervices; where, after a general profeſſion of his obligations to them all, he made his particular acknowledgments to each Magiſtrate by name, *to the Conſuls*; *the Tribuns*; *the Prætors:* he addreſſed himſelf *to the Tribuns*, before the *Prætors*; not for the dignity of their office, for in that they were inferior, but for their greater authority in making laws; and conſequently, their greater merit in carrying

[*b*] Hoc ſpecimen virtutis, hoc indicium animi, hoc lumen conſulatus ſui fore putavit, ſi me mihi, ſi meis, ſi Reipub. reddidiſſet.——Poſt red. in Sen. 4.

[*c*] Sed quia ſæpe concurrit, propter aliquorum de me meritorum inter ipſos contentiones, ut eodem tempore in omnes verear ne vix poſſim gratus videri. Sed ego hoc meis ponderibus examinabo, non ſolum quid cuique debeam, ſed etiam quid cujuſque interſit, & quid a me cujuſque tempus poſcat. Pro Plancio. 32.

his

" glory; on thoſe Merchants of Provinces, by " calling them home to give an account of their " adminiſtration: but I am more ſollicitous how " to acquit myſelf of my obligations to you, for " your great ſervices, than to reſent the injuries " and cruelties of my enemies: for it is much " eaſier to revenge an injury than to repay a " kindneſs, and much leſs trouble to get the " better of bad men than to equal the good [*b*]."

A. Urb. 696. Cic. 50. Coſſ. P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther, Q. Cæcilius Metellus Nepos.

This affair being happily over, the Senate had leiſure again to attend to public buſineſs; and there was now a caſe before them of a very urgent nature, which required a preſent remedy; *an unuſual ſcarcity of corn and proviſions* in the City, which had been greatly encreaſed by the late concourſe of people from all parts of *Italy*, on Cicero's account, and was now felt very ſeverely by the poor Citizens: They had born it with much patience while Cicero's return was in agitation; comforting themſelves with a notion, that if he was once reſtored, plenty would be reſtored with him; but finding the one at laſt effected without the other, they began to grow clamorous, and unable to endure their hunger any longer.

Clodius could not let ſlip ſo fair an opportunity of exciting ſome new diſturbance, and creating freſh trouble to Cicero, by charging the calamity to his *ſcore:* for this end he employed a number of young fellows to run all night about the ſtreets, making a lamentable outcry for bread; and calling upon Cicero to relieve them from the famine to which he had reduced them; as if he had got ſome hidden ſtore or magazine of corn, ſecreted from common uſe [*i*]. He ſent

[*b*] Poſt red. ad Quir. 9.

[*i*] Qui facultate oblata, ad imperitorum animos incitandos, renovaturum te illa funeſta

A. Urb. 696. Cic. 50. Coſſ. P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS SPINTHER, Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS NEPOS.

ſent his mob alſo to the Theatre, in which *the Prætor Cæcilius*, Cicero's particular friend, was exhibiting *the Apollinarian ſhews*, where they raiſed ſuch a terror that they drove the whole company out of it: then, in the ſame tumultuous manner, they marched to the Temple of CONCORD, whither Metellus had ſummoned the Senate; but happening to meet with Metellus in the way, they preſently attacked him with vollies of ſtones; with ſome of which they wounded even the Conſul himſelf, who, for the greater ſecurity, immediately adjourned the Senate into the *Capitol*. They were led on by two deſperate Ruffians, their uſual Commanders, M. Lollius and M. Sergius, the firſt of whom had in Clodius's Tribunate undertaken the taſk of killing Pompey; the ſecond had been Captain of the Guard to Catiline, and was probably of his family [*k*]: but Clodius, encouraged by this hopeful beginning, put himſelf at their head in perſon, and purſued the Senate into the *Capitol*, in order to diſturb their debates, and prevent their providing any relief for the preſent evil; and above all, to excite the meaner ſort *to ſome violence againſt Cicero*.

funeſta latrocinia ob annonæ cauſam putaviſti. Pro dom. 5.

Quid? puerorum illa concurſatio nocturna? num a te ipſo inſtituta me frumentum flagitabant? Quaſi vero ego aut rei frumentariæ præfuiſſem, aut compreſſum aliquod frumentum tenerem. Ib. 6.

[*k*] Cum homines ad Theatrum primo, deinde ad Senatum concurriſſent impulſu Clodii. Ad Att. 4. 1.

Concurſus eſt ad Templum Concordiæ factus, Senatum illuc vocante Metello— qui ſunt homines a Q. Metello in Senatu palam nominati, quibus ille ſe lapidibus appetitum, etiam percuſſum eſſe dixit.—Quis eſt iſte Lollius? Qui te Tribuno pleb.—Cum Pompeium interficiendum de popoſcit.—Quis eſt Sergius? armiger Catilinæ, ſtipator tui corporis, ſignifer ſeditionis— his atque hujuſmodi ducibus cum tu in annonæ caritate in Conſules, in Senatum— repentinos impetus comparare —Pro dom. 5.

his law into effect. The number of his private friends *was too great to make it poſſible for him to enumerate or thank them all; ſo that he confined himſelf to the Magiſtrates, with exception only to Pompey* [*d*], whom for the eminence of his character, though at preſent only a private man, he took care to diſtinguiſh by a perſonal addreſs and compliment. But as Lentulus was the firſt in office, and had ſerved him with the greateſt affection, ſo he gives him *the firſt ſhare of his praiſe*; and in the overflowing of his gratitude ſtiles him, *the Parent and the God of his life and fortunes* [*e*]. The next day he paid his thanks likewiſe to the people, in a ſpeech from *the Roſtra*; where he dwelt chiefly on the ſame topics which he had uſed in the Senate, celebrating the particular merits and ſervices of his principal friends, eſpecially *of Pompey*; whom he declares to be the *greateſt man for virtue, wiſdom, glory, who was then living, or had lived, or ever would live; and that he owed more to him on this occaſion, than it was even lawful almoſt, for one man to owe to another* [*f*].

A. Urb. 696. Cic. 50. Coſſ. P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS SPINTHER, Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS NEPOS.

[*d*] Cum perpaucis nominatim gratias egiſſem, quod omnes enumerari nullo modo poſſent, ſcelus autem eſſet quenquam præteriri.—ib. 30. Hodierno autem die nominatim a me Magiſtratibus ſtatui gratias eſſe agendas & de privatis uni, qui pro ſalute mea municipia, coloniaſque adiiſſet.—Poſt red. in Sen. 12.

[*e*] Princeps *P. Lentulus*, parens ac *Deus* noſtræ vitæ, fortunæ, &c. ib. 4. It was a kind of maxim among the ancients; that *to do good to a mortal, was to be a God to a mortal. Deus eſt mortali, juvare mortalem.* [Plin. Hiſt. 2. 7.] Thus *Cicero*, as he calls *Lentulus* here his *God*, ſo on other occaſions gives the ſame appellation to *Plato*. *Deus ille noſter Plato*— [ad Att. 4. 16.] to expreſs the higheſt ſenſe of the benefits received from them.

[*f*] Cn. Pompeius, vir omnium qui ſunt, fuerunt, erunt, princeps virtute, ſapientia, ac gloria. — Huic ego homini, Quirites, tantum debeo, quantum hominem homini debere vix fas eſt. Poſt red. ad Quir. 7.

A. Urb. 696. Cic. 50. Coſſ. P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS SPINTHER, Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS NEPOS.

BOTH theſe ſpeeches are ſtill extant, and a paſſage or two from each will illuſtrate the temper and diſpoſition in which he returned: in ſpeaking to the Senate, after a particular recital of the ſervices of his friends, he adds, "as I have a pleaſure in enumerating theſe, ſo I willingly paſs over in ſilence what others wickedly acted againſt me: it is not my preſent buſineſs to remember injuries; which if it were in my power to revenge, I ſhould chuſe to forget; my life ſhall be applyed to other purpoſes: to repay the good offices of thoſe who have deſerved it of me; to hold faſt the friendſhips which have been tried as it were in the fire; to wage war with declared enemies; to pardon my timorous, nor yet expoſe my treacherous friends; and to balance the miſery of my exil by the dignity of my return— [g]." To the people he obſerves; "that there were four ſorts of enemies, who concurred to oppreſs him: the firſt, who, out of hatred to the Republic, were mortal enemies to him for having ſaved it: the ſecond, who, under a falſe pretence of friendſhip, infamouſly betrayed him: the third, who, through their inability to obtain what he had acquired, were envious of his dignity: the fourth, who, though by office they ought to have been the guardians of the Republic, bartered away his ſafety, the peace of the City, and the dignity of the Empire, which were committed to their truſt. I will take my revenge, ſays he, on each of them, agreeably to the different manner of their provocation; on the bad Citizens, by defending the Republic ſtrenuouſly on my perfidious friends, by never truſting them again; on the envious, by continuing my ſteady purſuit of virtue and

[g] Poſt red. in Sen. 9.

"glory;

always been firm to him, in order to pay his court to a man, who had betrayed him: and that he was ſo ſilly, as not to know his own ſtrength and credit in the City, and how able he was to maintain his authority without the help of Pompey [*o*]. But Cicero defended himſelf by ſaying, "that they muſt "not expect to play the ſame game upon him "now that he was reſtored, with which they "had ruined him before, by raiſing jealouſies "between him and Pompey: that he had ſmarted "for it too ſeverely already, to be caught again "in the ſame trap; that in decreeing this com-"miſſion to Pompey, he had diſcharged both "his private obligations to a friend, and his pub-"lic duty to the State; that thoſe who grudged "all extraordinary power to Pompey, muſt "grudge the victories, the triumphs, the ac-"ceſſion of dominion and revenue, which their "former grants of this ſort had procured to the "Empire; that the ſucceſs of thoſe ſhewed, "what fruit they were to expect from this [*p*]."

A. Urb. 696. Cic. 50. Coſſ. P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS SPINTHER, Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS NEPOS.

BUT what authority ſoever this law conferred on Pompey, his creatures were not yet ſatisfied with it; ſo that Meſſius, one of the Tribuns, propoſed, another, to give him the additional power *of raiſing what money, fleets, and armies he*

[*o*] Tune es ille, inquit, quo Senatus carere non potuit?—quo reſtituto, Senatus auctoritatem reſtitutam putabamus? quam primum adveniens prodidiſti. Ib. 2.

Neſcit quantum auctoritate valeat, quas res geſſerit, qua dignitate ſit reſtitutus. Cur ornat eum a quo deſertus eſt? Ib. 11.

[*p*] Deſinant homines iiſdem machinis ſperare me reſtitutum poſſe labefactari, quibus antea ſtantem perculerunt—data merces eſt erroris mei magna, ut me non ſolum pigeat ſtultitiæ meæ, ſed etiam pudeat. Ib. 11.

Cn. Pompeio—— maxima terra marique bella extra ordinem eſſe commiſſa: quarum rerum ſi quem pœniteat, eum victoriæ populi Romani neceſſe eſt pœnitere. Ib. 8.

thought

A. Urb. 696. Cic. 50. Coſſ. P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS SPINTHER, Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS NEPOS.

thought fit; with a greater command through all the Provinces, than their proper Governors had in each. Cicero's laws ſeemed modeſt in compariſon of Meſſius's: Pompey pretended to be content with the firſt, whilſt all his dependents were puſhing for the laſt; they expected that Cicero would come over to them; but he continued ſilent, nor would ſtir a ſtep farther; for his affairs were ſtill in ſuch a ſtate, as obliged him to act with caution, and to manage both the Senate and the men of power: the concluſion was, that Cicero's law was received by all parties, *and Pompey named him for his firſt Lieutenant, declaring that he ſhould conſider him as a ſecond ſelf, and act nothing without his advice* [q]. *Cicero accepted the employment, on condition that he might be at liberty to uſe or reſign it at pleaſure, as he found it convenient to his affairs* [r]: but he ſoon after quitted it to his Brother, and choſe to continue in the city; where he had the pleaſure to ſee the end of his law effectually anſwered: for the credit of Pompey's name immediately reduced the price of victuals in the markets; and his vigor and diligence in proſecuting the affair ſoon eſtabliſhed a general plenty.

CICERO was reſtored to his former dignity, but not to his former fortunes; nor was any ſatisfaction yet made to him for the ruin of his

[q] Legem Conſules conſcripſerunt—alteram Meſſius, qua omnis pecuniæ dat poteſtatem, & adjungit claſſem & exercitum, & majus imperium in provinciis, quam ſit eorum, qui eas obtinent. Illa noſtra lex Conſularis nunc modeſta videtur, hæc Meſſii non ferenda. Pompeius illam velle ſe dicit; Familiares hanc. Conſulares duce Favonio fremunt, nos tacemus; & eo magis quod de domo noſtra nihil adhuc Pontifices reſponderunt.—

Ille legatos quindecim cum poſtularet, me principem nominavit, & ad omnia me alterum ſe fore dixit.——Ad Att. 4. 1.

[r] Ego me a Pompeio legari ita ſum paſſus, ut nulla re impedirer, quod ne, ſi vellem, mihi eſſet integrum.—Ib. 2.

houſe

A. Urb. 696. Cic. 56. Coſſ. P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther, Q. Cæcilius Metellus Nepos.

But he ſoon found, to his great diſappointment, that Cicero was too ſtrong in the affections of the City to be hurt again ſo ſoon: for the people themſelves ſaw through his deſign, and were ſo provoked at it, *that they turned univerſally againſt him, and drove him out of the field, with all his mercenaries*; when perceiving that Cicero *was not preſent in the Senate, they called out upon him by name with one voice, and would not be quieted till he came in perſon to undertake their cauſe, and propoſe ſome expedient for their relief. He had kept his houſe all that day, and reſolved to do ſo, till he ſaw the iſſue of the tumult*; but when he underſtood that Clodius *was repulſed, and that his preſence was univerſally required by the Conſuls, the Senate, and the whole People, he came to the Senate-Houſe, in the midſt of their debates, and being preſently aſked his opinion*, propoſed, *that Pompey ſhould be entreated to undertake the province of reſtoring plenty to the City; and, to enable him to execute it with effect, ſhould be inveſted with an abſolute power over all the public ſtores and corn-rents of the Empire through all the Provinces: the motion was readily accepted, and a vote immediately paſſed, that a law ſhould be prepared for that purpoſe, and offered to the people* [*l*]. *All the Conſular Senators were*

[*l*] Ego vero domi me tenui, quamdiu turbulentum tempus fuit — cum ſervos tuos ad rapinam, ad bonorum cædem paratos — armatos etiam in Capitolium tecum veniſſe conſtabat — ſcio me domi manſiſſe —— poſteaquam mihi nunciatum eſt, populum Romanum in Capitolium — conveniſſe miniſtros autem ſcelerem tuorum perterritos, partim amiſſis gladiis, partim ereptis diffugiſſe; veni non ſolum ſine ullis copiis, ac manu, verum etiam cum paucis amicis.—Ib. 3.

Ego denique — a populo Romano univerſo, qui tum in Capitolium convenerat, cum illo die minus valerem, nominatim in Senatum vocabar. Veni exſpectatus; multis jam ſententiis dictis, rogatus ſum ſententiam; dixi Reipub. ſaluberrimam, mihi neceſſarium. Ib. 7.

Factum

A. Urb. 696. Cic. 50. Coſſ. P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS SPINTHER, Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS NEPOS.

were abſent except Meſſala and Afranius: they pretended to be afraid of the mob; but the real cauſe was their unwillingneſs to concur in granting this commiſſion to Pompey. The Conſuls carried the decree with them *into the Roſtra*, and read it publickly to the people; *who on the mention of Cicero's name, in which it was drawn, gave an univerſal ſhout of applauſe*; *upon which, at the deſire of all the Magiſtrates, Cicero made a ſpeech to them*, ſetting forth the reaſons and neceſſity of the decree, and giving them the comfort of a ſpeedy relief, from the vigilance and authority of Pompey [*m*]. The abſence however of the Conſular Senators gave a handle to reflect upon the act, *as not free and valid, but extorted by fear, and without the intervention of the principal members*; *but the very next day, in a fuller Houſe, when all thoſe Senators were preſent, and a motion was made to revoke the decree, it was unanimouſly rejected* [*n*]; and the Conſuls were ordered to draw up a law conformable to it, by which *the whole adminiſtration of the corn and proviſions of the Republic was to be granted to Pompey for five years, with a power of chuſing fifteen Lieutenants to aſſiſt him in it.*

THIS furniſhed Clodius with freſh matter of abuſe upon Cicero: he charged him *with ingratitude, and the deſertion of the Senate, which had*

Factum eſt S. C. in meam ſententiam, ut cum Pompeio ageretur, ut eam rem ſuſciperet, lexque ferretur. Ad Att. 4. 1.

[*m*] Cum abeſſent Conſulares, quod tuto ſe negarent poſſe ſententiam dicere, præter Meſſalam & Afranium. Ibid.

Quo S. C. recitato, cum continuo more hoc inſulſo & novo plauſum, meo nomine recitando dediſſet, habui concionem. —— Ibid.

[*n*] At enim liberum Senatus judicium propter metum non fuit. Pro dom. 4.

Poſtridie Senatus frequens, & omnes Conſulares nihil Pompeio poſtulanti negarunt. Ad Att. 4. 1.

Cum omnes adeſſent, cœptum eſt referri de inducendo S.C.; ab univerſo Senatu reclamatum eſt. Pro dom. 4.

always

" ly null and void, from the *invalidity of his* A. Urb. 696.
" *adoption*, on which it was entirely grounded:" Cic. 50.
he ſhews, " that the ſole end of adoption, which Coſſ.
" the laws acknowledged, was to ſupply the P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther,
" want of children, by borrowing them as it Q. Cæcilius Metellus Nepos.
" were from other families; that it was an eſſen-
" tial condition of it, that he who adopted had
" no children of his own, nor was in condition
" to have any: that the parties concerned were
" obliged to appear before the Prieſts to ſignify
" their conſent, the cauſe of the adoption, the
" circumſtances of the families intereſted in it,
" and the nature of their religious rites; that the
" Prieſts might judge of the whole, and ſee that
" there was no fraud or deceit in it, nor any diſ-
" honour to any family or perſon concerned:
" that nothing of all this had been obſerved in
" the caſe of Clodius: that the Adopter was not
" full twenty years old, when he adopted a Se-
" nator, who was old enough to be his father:
" that he had no occaſion to adopt, ſince he had
" a wife and children, and would probably have
" more, which he muſt neceſſarily diſinherit by
" this adoption, if it was real: that Clodius had
" no other view, than, by the pretence of an
" adoption, to make himſelf *a Plebeian* and *Tri-*
" *bun*, in order to overturn the ſtate; that the
" act itſelf, which confirmed the adoption, was
" null and illegal, being tranſacted while Bibu-
" lus was obſerving the Auſpices, which was
" contrary to expreſs law, and huddled over in
" three hours by Cæſar, when it ought to have
" been publiſhed for three market days ſucceſ-
" ſively, at the interval of nine days each [*x*]:
" that if the adoption was irregular and illegal,
" as it certainly was, the Tribunate muſt needs

[*x*] Pro dom. 13, 14, 15, 16.

" be

A. Urb. 696. Cic. 50. Coſſ. P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS SPINTHER, Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS NEPOS.

" be ſo too, which was entirely built upon it: " but granting the Tribunate after all to be valid, " becauſe ſome eminent men would have it ſo, " yet the act made afterwards for his baniſhment " could not poſſibly be conſidered as a law, but " as a *privilege* only, made againſt a particular " perſon; which the ſacred laws, and the laws " of the twelve Tables had utterly prohibited: " that it was contrary to the very conſtitution of " the Republic, to puniſh any Citizen either in " body or goods, till he had been accuſed in " proper form, and condemned of ſome crime " by competent judges: that *Privileges*, or laws " to inflict penalties on ſingle perſons by name, " without a legal trial, were cruel and pernicious, " and nothing better than proſcriptions, and of " all things not to be endured in their City [*y*]." Then in entering upon the queſtion of his houſe, he declares, " that the whole effect of his reſto- " ration depended upon it; that if it was not " given back to him, but ſuffered to remain a " monument of triumph to his enemy, of grief " and calamity to himſelf, he could not conſider " it as a reſtoration, but a perpetual puniſhment: " that his houſe ſtood in the view of the whole " people; and if it muſt continue in its preſent " ſtate, he ſhould be forced to remove to ſome " other place, and could never endure to live in " that City, in which he muſt always ſee tro- " phies erected both againſt himſelf and the Re- " public: the houſe of Sp. Melius," ſays he, " who affected a Tyranny, was levelled; and " by the name of *Æquimelium*, given to the place, " the people confirmed the Equity of his puniſh- " ment: the houſe of Sp. Caſſius was overturn-

[*y*] Ib. 17. in privos homines leges ferri noluerunt; id eſt enim privilegium: quo quid eſt injuſtius? De Legib. 3. 19.

houſes and eſtates: a full reſtitution indeed had been decreed, but was reſerved to his return; which came now before the Senate to be conſidered and ſettled by public authority, where it met ſtill with great obſtruction. The chief difficulty was about his *Palatin houſe*; which he valued above all the reſt, and which Clodius, for that reaſon, had contrived to alieniate, as he hoped, irretrievably; by demoliſhing the Fabric, *and dedicating a Temple upon the area to the Goddeſs Liberty:* where, to make his work the more complete, he pulled down alſo the adjoining *portico of Catullus*, that he might build it up anew, of the ſame order with his Temple; and by blending the public with private property, and *conſecrating the whole to religion*, might make it impoſſible to ſeparate or reſtore any part to Cicero; ſince a conſecration, legally performed, made the thing conſecrated unapplicable ever after to any private uſe.

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THIS portico was built, as has been ſaid, on the ſpot where Fulvius Flaccus formerly lived, whoſe houſe was publickly demoliſhed, for the treaſon of its maſter; and it was Clodius's deſign *to join Cicero's to it under the ſame denomination; as the perpetual memorial of a diſgrace and puniſhment inflicted by the people* [*s*]. When he had finiſhed the portico therefore, and annexed his Temple to it, which took up but a ſmall part, *ſcarce a tenth, of Cicero's houſe*, he left the reſt of the area void, in order *to plant a grove, or walks of pleaſure upon it*, as had been uſual in ſuch caſes; where, as it has been obſerved, he was proſecuting a particular intereſt, as well as indulging his malice in obſtructing the reſtitution of it to Cicero.

[*s*] Ut domus M. Tullii Ciceronis cum domo Fulvii Flacci ad memoriam pœnæ publice conſtitutæ conjuncta eſſe videatur. Pro dom. 38.

THE

A. Urb. 696. Cic. 50. Coſſ. P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS SPINTHER, Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS NEPOS.

THE affair was to be determined by *the college of Prieſts*, who where the Judges in all caſes relating to religion: for the Senate could only make a proviſional decree, *that if the Prieſts diſcharged the ground from the ſervice of religion, then the Conſuls ſhould take an eſtimate of the damage, and make a contract for rebuilding the whole at the public charge, ſo as to reſtore it to Cicero in the condition in which he left it* [*t*]. The *Prieſts* therefore of all orders were called together *on the laſt of September*, to hear this cauſe, which Cicero pleaded in perſon before them: they were men of the firſt dignity and families in the republic; and there never was, as Cicero tells us, *ſo full an appearance of them in any cauſe, ſince the foundation of the City: he reckons* up *nineteen* by name; a great part of whom were of *Conſular rank* [*u*]. His firſt care, before he entered into the merits of the queſtion, was to remove the prejudices, which his enemies had been labouring to inſtill, on the account of his late conduct in favor of Pompey, by explaning the motives, and ſhewing the neceſſity of it; contriving at the ſame time to turn the odium on the other ſide, by running over *the hiſtory of Clodius's Tribunate*, and painting all its violences in the moſt lively colours; but the queſtion on which the cauſe ſingly turned, *was about the efficacy of the pretended conſecration of the houſe, and the dedication of the Temple:* to ſhew the nullity therefore of this act, he endeavours to overthrow the very foundation of it, " and prove Clodius's Tribunate to be original-

[*t*] Qui ſi ſuſtulerint religionem, aream præclaram habebimus: ſuperficiem Conſules ex S. C. æſtimabunt.—Ad Att. 4. 1.

[*u*] Nego unquam poſt ſacra conſtituta, quorum eadem eſt antiquitas, quæ ipſius urbis, ulla de re, ne de capite quidem Virginum Veſtalium, tam frequens collegium judicaſſe. De Haruſp. reſp. 6. 7.

" ly

" ed alſo for the ſame cauſe, and a Temple raiſ- A. Urb. 695.
" ed upon it to Tellus: M. Vaccus's houſe was Cic 50.
" confiſcated and levelled; and, to perpetuate Coſſ.
" the memory of his treaſon, the place is ſtill P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther,
" called Vaccus's meadows: M. Manlius like- Q. Cæcilius Metellus Nepos.
" wiſe, after he had repulſed the *Gauls* from the
" *Capitol*, not content with the glory of that
" ſervice, was adjudged to aim at dominion; ſo
" that his houſe was demoliſhed, where you now
" ſee the two groves planted: muſt I therefore
" ſuffer that puniſhment, which our Anceſtors
" inflicted as the greateſt, on wicked and traite-
" rous Citizens; that poſterity may conſider me,
" not as the oppreſſor, but the author and captain
" of the Conſpiracy [z]?" When he comes to ſpeak to the dedication itſelf, he obſerves, " that
" the Goddeſs Liberty, to which the Temple
" was dedicated, was the known ſtatue of a cele-
" brated ſtrumpet, which Appius brought from
" *Greece* for the ornament of his Ædileſhip: and
" upon dropping the thoughts of that magiſtra-
" cy, gave to his brother Clodius, to be advan-
" ced into a deity [a]: that the ceremony was
" performed without any licence or judgement
" obtained from the College of Prieſts, by the
" ſingle miniſtry of a raw young man, the bro-
" ther-in-law of Clodius, who had been made
" Prieſt but a few days before; a mere novice
" in his buſineſs, and forced into the ſervice [b]:
" but if all had been tranſacted regularly, and
" in due form, that it could not poſſibly have
" any force, as being contrary to the ſtanding
" laws of the Republic: for there was an old
" Tribunician law, made by Q. Papirius, which
" prohibited the conſecration of houſes, lands, or
" altars, without the expreſs command of the

[z] Pro dom. 37, 38. [b] Ib. 45.
[a] Ib. 43.

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" people; which was not obtained, nor even pretended in the preſent caſe [*c*]: that great regard had always been paid to this law in ſeveral inſtances of the graveſt kind: that Q. Marcius, the Cenſor, erected a Statue of CONCORD in a public part of the city, which C. Caſſius afterwards, when Cenſor, removed into the Senate-houſe, and conſulted the College of Prieſts, whether he might not dedicate the ſtatue, and the houſe alſo itſelf, to CONCORD: upon which M. Æmilius, the High-Prieſt, gave anſwer in the name of the College, that unleſs the people had deputed him by name, and he acted in it by their authority, they were of opinion, that he could not rightly dedicate them [*d*]: that Licinia alſo, a veſtal virgin, dedicated an altar, and a little temple, under the ſacred Rock: upon which S. Julius the Prætor, by order of the Senate, conſulted the College of Prieſts; for whom P. Scævola, the High-Prieſt, gave anſwer, that what Licinia had dedicated in a public place, without any order of the people, could not be conſidered as ſacred: ſo that the Senate injoined the Prætor to ſee it deſecrated, and to efface whatever had been inſcribed upon it: after all this, it was to no purpoſe, he tells them, to mention, what he had propoſed to ſpeak to in the laſt place, that the dedication was not performed with any of the ſolemn words and rites which ſuch a function required; but by the ignorant young man before-mentioned, without the help of his Collegues, his books, or any to prompt him: eſpecially when Clodius, who directed him, that impure enemy of all religion, who often acted the woman among men, as well as the man among women, hud-

[*c*] Pro dom. 49. [*d*] Ib. 51, 53.

" dled

" dled over the whole ceremony in a blundering, A. Urb. 696.
" precipitate manner, faultering and confounded Cic. 50.
" in mind, voice, and ſpeech; often recalling Coſſ.
" himſelf, doubting, fearing, heſitating, and P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS SPINTHER,
" performing every thing quite contrary to what Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS NEPOS.
" the ſacred books preſcribed: nor is it ſtrange,
" ſays he, that in an act ſo mad and villainous,
" his audaciouſneſs could not get the better of
" his fears: for what Pirate, though ever ſo
" babarous, after he had been plundering Tem-
" ples, when pricked by a dream, or ſcruple of
" religion, he came to conſecrate ſome altar on
" a deſert ſhore, was not terrified in his mind, on
" being forced to appeaſe that Deity by his pray-
" ers, whom he had provoked by his ſacrilege?
" In what horrors then, think you, muſt this
" man needs be, the plunderer of all Temples,
" houſes, and the whole City, when for the ex-
" piation of ſo many impieties, he was wickedly
" conſecrating one ſingle altar [*e*]? Then after a
" ſolemn invocation and appeal to all the Gods,
" who pecularly favoured and protected that City,
" to bear witneſs to the integrity of his zeal and
" love to the Republic, and that in all his labours
" and ſtruggles he had conſtantly preferred the
" public benefit to his own, he commits the
" juſtice of his cauſe to the judgement of the
" venerable Bench."

HE was particularly pleaſed with the compoſition of this ſpeech, which he publiſhed immediately; and ſays upon it, that if ever he made any figure in ſpeaking, his indignation, and the ſenſe of his injuries, had inſpired him with new force and ſpirit in this cauſe [*f*]. The ſentence of

[*e*] Pro dom. 54, 55.
[*f*] Acta res eſt accurate a nobis; & ſi unquam in dicendo fuimus aliquid, aut etiam

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of the Prieſts turned wholly on what Cicero had alledged about the force of *the Papirian law*; viz. *that if he, who performed the office of conſecration, had not been ſpecially authoriſed and perſonally appointed to it by the people, then the area in queſtion might, without any ſcruple of religion, be reſtored to Cicero.* This though it ſeemed ſomewhat evaſive, was ſufficient for Cicero's purpoſe; *and his friends congratulated him upon it, as upon a clear victory*; while Clodius interpreted it ſtill in favour of himſelf, and being produced *into the Roſtra*, by his Brother Appius, acquainted the people, *that the Prieſts had given judgement for him, but that Cicero was preparing to recover poſſeſſion by force; and exhorted them therefore to follow him and Appius in the defence of their liberties.* But his ſpeech made no impreſſion on the audience; *ſome wondered at his impudence, others laughed at his folly, and Cicero reſolved not to trouble himſelf, or the people about it, till the Conſuls, by a decree of the Senate, had contracted for rebuilding the portico of Catulus* [g].

THE Senate met the next day, in a full houſe, to put an end to this affair; when Marcellinus,

etiam ſi unquam alias fuimus, tum profecto dolor & magnitudo vim quandam nobis dicendi dedit. Itaque Oratio juventuti noſtræ deberi non poteſt. Ad Att. 4. 2.

[g] Cum Pontifices decreſſent, ita, ſi neque populi juſſu, neque plebis ſcitu, is qui ſe dedicaſſe diceret, nominatim ei rei prefectus eſſet; neque populi juſſu, neque plebis ſcitu id facere juſſus eſſet, videri poſſe ſine religione eam partem areæ mihi reſtitui. Mihi facta ſtatim eſt gratulatio: nemo enim dubitat, quin domus nobis eſſet adjudicata. Tum ſubito ille in concionem aſcendit, quam Appius ei dedit: nunciat jam populo, Pontifices ſecundum ſe decreviſſe; me autem vi conari in poſſeſſionem venire: hortatur, ut ſe & Appium ſequantur, & ſuam libertatem ut defendant. Hic cum etiam illi infimi partim admirarentur, partim irriderent hominis amentiam. Ad Att. 4. 2.

one

one of the Conſuls elect, being called upon to ſpeak firſt, addreſſed himſelf *to the Prieſts, and deſired them to give an account of the grounds and meaning of their ſentence:* upon which Lucullus, in the name of the reſt, declared, *that the Prieſts were indeed the Judges of religion, but the Senate of the law; that they therefore had determined only what related to the point of religion, and left it to the Senate to determine whether any obſtacle remained in point of law:* all the other prieſts ſpoke largely after him in favor of Cicero's cauſe: when Clodius roſe afterwards to ſpeak, he endeavoured to waſt the time ſo, as to hinder their coming to any reſolution that day; but after he had been ſpeaking *for three hours* ſucceſſively, the aſſembly grew ſo impatient, and made ſuch a noiſe and hiſſing, that he was forced to give over: yet when they were going to paſs a decree, in *the words of Marcellinus, Serranus put his negative upon it:* this raiſed an univerſal indignation; and a freſh debate began, at the motion of the Two Conſuls, *on the merit of the Tribun's interceſſion*; when after many warm ſpeeches, they came to the following vote; *that it was the reſolution of that Senate, that Cicero's houſe ſhould be reſtored to him, and Catulus's portico rebuilt, as it had been before; and that this vote ſhould be defended by all the Magiſtrates; and if any violence or obſtruction was offered to it, that the Senate would look upon it, as offered by him, who had interpoſed his negative.* This ſtaggered Serranus, and the late Farce was played over again; *his father threw himſelf at his feet, to beg him to deſiſt; he deſired a night's time*; which at firſt was refuſed, but on Cicero's requeſt, granted; and the next day he revoked his negative, and, without farther oppoſition, ſuffered the Senate to paſs a decree, *that Cicero's damage*

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mage ſhould be made good to him, and his houſes rebuilt at the public charge [*h*].

THE Conſuls began preſently to put the decree in execution; and having contracted for the rebuilding *Catulus's portico*, ſet men to work, *upon clearing the ground, and demoliſhing what had been built by Clodius:* but as to Cicero's buildings, it was agreed to take an eſtimate of his damage, and pay the amount of it to himſelf, to be laid out according to his own fancy: in which *his Palatin houſe was valued at ſixteen thouſand pounds; his Tuſculan at four thouſand; his Formian only at two thouſand.* This was a very deficient and ſhameful valuation, *which all the world cried out upon*; for *the Palatin houſe* had coſt him, not long before, near twice that ſum: but Cicero would not give himſelf any trouble about it, or make any exceptions, which gave the Conſuls a handle to throw the blame upon *his own modeſty, for not remonſtrating againſt it, and ſeeming to be ſatisfied with what was awarded:* but the true reaſon was, as he himſelf declares, *that thoſe, who had clipt his wings, had no mind to let them grow again; and though they had been his advocates when abſent, began now to be ſecretly angry, and openly envious of him when preſent* [*i*].

[*h*] Ad Att. 4. 2.

[*i*] Nobis ſuperficiem ædium Conſules de conſilii ſententia æſtimarunt HS. vicies; cætera valde illiberaliter; Tuſculanum villam quingentis millibus; Formianum ducentis quinquaginta millibus; quæ æſtimatio non modo ab optimo quoque ſed etiam a plebe reprehenditur. Dices, quid igitur cauſæ fuit? Dicunt illi quidem pudorem meum, quod neque negarim, neque vehementius poſtularim. Sed non eſt id; nam hoc quidem etiam profuiſſet. Verum iidem, mi Pomponi, iidem inquam illi, qui mihi pennas inciderunt, nolunt eaſdem renaſci. Ibid.

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BUT as he was never covetuous, this affair gave him no great uneaſineſs; though, through the late ruin of his fortunes, he was now in ſuch want of money, that he reſolved *to expoſe his Tuſculan Villa to ſale*; but ſoon changed his mind and built it up again with much more magnificence than before; and for the beauty of its ſituation, and neighbourhood to the City, took more pleaſure in it ever after, than in any other of his country ſeats. But he had ſome domeſtic grievances about this time, which touched him more nearly; and which, as he ſignifies obſcurely to Atticus, *were of too delicate a nature to be explained by a letter* [*k*]: they aroſe chiefly from the petulant humor of his wife, which began to give him frequent occaſions of chagrin; and, by a ſeries of repeated provocations, confirmed in him that ſettled diſguſt, which ended at laſt in a divorce.

As he was now reſtored to the poſſeſſion both of his dignity and fortune, ſo he was deſirous to deſtroy all the public monuments of his late diſgrace; nor to ſuffer the *law of his exil* to remain, with the other acts of *Clodius's Tribunate*, hanging up *in the Capitol*, engraved, as uſual, on tables of braſs: watching therefore the opportunity of Clodius's abſence, *he went to the Capitol, with a ſtrong body of his friends, and taking the tables down conveyed them to his own houſe.* This occaſioned a ſharp conteſt in the Senate between him and Clodius, about *the validity of thoſe acts*; and drew Cato alſo into the debate; who, for the ſake of *his Cyprian commiſſion, thought himſelf obliged to defend their legality againſt Cicero*; *which*

[*k*] Tuſculanum proſcripſi: ſuburbano non facile careo.--Cætera, quæ me ſollicitant, μυζικώτερα ſunt. Amamur a fratre & filia. Ibid.

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created ſome little coldneſs between them, and gave no ſmall pleaſure to the common enemies of them both [*l*].

BUT Cicero's chief concern at preſent was, how to ſupport his former authority in the City, and provide for his future ſafety; as well againſt the malice of declared enemies, as the envy of pretended friends, which he perceived to be growing up afreſh againſt him: he had thoughs of putting in for *the Cenſorſhip*; *or of procuring one of thoſe honorary Lieutenancies*, which gave a public character to private Senators; with intent to make a progreſs through *Italy*, or *a kind of religious pilgrimage to all the Temples, Groves, and ſacred places, on pretence of a vow, made in his exile.* This would give him an opportunity of ſhewing himſelf every where in a light, which naturally attracts the affection of the multitude, by teſtifying a pious regard to the favourite ſuperſtitions and local religions of the Country; as the Great, in the ſame Country, ſtill pay their court to the vulgar, by viſiting the ſhrines and altars of the Saints, which are moſt in vogue: he mentions theſe projects to Atticus, as deſigned to be executed in the ſpring, reſolving in the mean while to cheriſh the good inclination of the people towards him, by keeping himſelf perpetually in the view of the City [*m*].

Catulus's portico, and Cicero's houſe, were riſing again apace, and carried up almoſt to the roof; when Clodius, without any warning, attacked them, *on the ſecond of November, with a band of*

[*l*] Plutarch in Cic. Dio. p. 100.

[*m*] Ut nulla re impedirer, quod ne ſi vellem mihi eſſet integrum, aut ſi comitia Cenſorum proximi Conſules haberent, petere poſſe, aut Votivam Legationem ſumſiſſe prope omnium Fanorum, lucorum. Ad Att. 4. 2.

armed

armed men, who demoliſhed the portico, and drove the workmen out of Cicero's ground, and with the ſtones and rubbiſh of the place began to batter Quintus's houſe, with whom Cicero then lived, *and at laſt ſet fire to it*; ſo that the two Brothers, with their families, were forced to ſave themſelves by a haſty flight. Milo had already accuſed Clodius for his former violences, and reſolved, if poſſible, to bring him to juſtice: Clodius, on the other hand, was ſuing for *the Ædileſhip*, to ſecure himſelf, for one year more at leaſt, from any proſecution: he was ſure of being condemned, if ever he was brought to trial, *ſo that whatever miſchief he did in the mean time was all clear gain, and could not make his cauſe the worſe* [*n*]: he now therefore gave a free courſe to his natural fury; was perpetually ſcouring the ſtreets with his incendiaries, *and threatning fire and ſword to the City itſelf, if an aſſembly was not called for the election of Ædiles.* In this humour, about a week after his laſt outrage, *on the eleventh of November*, happening to meet with Cicero, in the ſacred ſtreet, he preſently aſſaulted him *with ſtones, clubs, and drawn ſwords:* Cicero was not prepared for the encounter, and took refuge in the Veſtibule of the next houſe; where his attendants rallying in his defence, beat off the aſſailants, *and could eaſily have killed their Leader, but that Cicero was willing*, he ſays, *to cure by diet, rather than Surgery.* The day following Clodius

A. Urb. 696. Cic. 50. Coſſ. P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS SPINTHER, Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS NEPOS.

[*n*] Armatis hominibus ante diem III. Non. Novemb. expulſi ſunt fabri de area noſtra, diſturbata porticus Catuli—Quæ ad tectum pœne pervenerat. Quinti fratris domus primo fracta conjectu lapidum, ex area noſtra, deinde juſſu Clodii inflammata, inſpectante Urbe, conjectis ignibus.——Videt, ſi omnes quos vult palam occiderit, nihilo ſuam cauſam difficiliorem, quam adhuc ſit, in judicio futuram. Ad Att. 4. 3.

A. Urb. 696. Cic. 50. Coſſ. P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS SPINTHER, Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS NEPOS.

attacked Milo's houſe, with ſword in hand, and lighted Flambeaus, with intent to ſtorm and burn it: but Milo was never unprovided for him; and Q. Flaccus, ſallying out with a ſtrong band of ſtout fellows, killed ſeveral of his men, *and would have killed Clodius too, if he had not hid himſelf in the inner apartments of P. Sylla's houſe, which he made uſe of on this occaſion as his Fortreſs* [o].

THE Senate met, on the fourteenth, to take theſe diſorders into conſideration; *Clodius did not think fit to appear there*; but *Sylla* came, to clear himſelf, probably from the ſuſpicion of encouraging him in theſe violences, on account of the freedom which he had taken with his houſe [p]. Many ſevere ſpeeches were made, and vigorous counſils propoſed; Marcellinus's opinion was, *that Clodius ſhould be impeached anew for theſe laſt outrages; and that no election of Ædiles ſhould be ſuffered, till he was brought to a trial: Milo declared, that as long as he continued in office, the Conſul Metellus ſhould make no election; for he would take the auſpices every day, on which an aſſembly could be held; but Metellus contrived to waſt the day in ſpeaking, ſo that they were forced to break up without making any decree.* Milo was as good as his word, and, having gathered a ſuperior force, took care to obſtruct the election; though the Conſul Me-

[o] Ante diem tertium Id. Novemb. cum ſacra via deſcenderem, inſecutus eſt me cum ſuis. Clamor lapides, fuſtes, gladii; hæc improviſa omnia. Diſceſſimus in veſtibulum Tertii Damionis: qui erunt mecum facile operas aditu prohibuerunt. Ipſe occidi potuit, ſed ego diæta curare incipio, chirurgiæ tædet—Milonis domum prid. id. expugnare & incendere ita conatus eſt, ut palam hora quinta cum ſcutis homines, eductis gladiis, alios cum accenſis facibus adduxerit. Ipſe domum P. Syllæ pro caſtris ad eam impugnationem ſumpſerat, &c. Ad Att. 4. 3.

[p] Sylla ſe in Senato poſtridie Idus, domi Clodius. Ib.

tellus

tellus employed all his power and art to elude his vigilance, and procure an aſſembly by ſtratagem; calling it to one place, and holding it in another, ſometimes in the field of Mars, ſometimes in the Forum; but Milo was ever beforehand with him; and, keeping a conſtant guard in the field, from midnight to noon, was always at hand to inhibit his procedings, by *obnouncing*, as it was called, or declaring, that he was *taking the auſpices on that day*; ſo that the three Brothers were baffled and diſappointed, though they were perpetually haranguing and labouring to inflame the people againſt thoſe, who interrupted their aſſemblies and right of electing; *where Metellus's ſpeeches were turbulent, Appius's raſh, Clodius's furious.* Cicero, who gives this account to Atticus, was of opinion, *that there would be no election; and that Clodius would be brought to trial, if he was not firſt killed by Milo*; which was likely to be his fate: Milo, ſays he, *makes no ſcruple to own it; being not deterred by my misfortune, and having no envious or perfidious counſellors about him, nor any lazy Nobles to diſcourage him: it is commonly given out by the other ſide, that what he does, is all done by my advice; but they little know, how much conduct, as well as courage, there is in this Hero* [q].

A. Urb. 696. Cic. 50. Coſſ. P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS SPINTHER, Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS NEPOS.

YOUNG

[q] Egregius Marcellinus, omnes acres; Metellus calumnia dicendi tempus exemit: conciones turbulentæ Metelli, temerariæ Appii, furioſiſſimæ Clodii: hæc tamen ſumma, niſi Milo in Campum obnunciaſſet, Comitia futura.—Comitia fore non arbitror; rerum Publium, niſi ante occiſus erit, fore a Milone puto. Si ſe inter viam obtulerit, occiſum iri ab ipſo Milone video. Non dubitat facere; præ ſe fert; caſum illum noſtrum non extimeſcit, &c.

Meo conſilio omnia illi fieri querebantur, ignari quantum in illo heroe eſſet animi, quantum etiam conſilii.—— Ad Att. 4. 3.

N. B. From theſe facts it appears, that what is ſaid above,

A. Urb. 696. Cic. 50. Coſſ. P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS SPINTHER, Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS NEPOS.

YOUNG Lentulus, the ſon of the Conſul, was, by the intereſt of his father, and the recommendation of his noble birth, *choſen into the College of Augurs* this ſummer, though not yet *ſeventeen years old*; *having but juſt changed his puerile for the manly gown* [r]: Cicero was invited to the inauguration feaſt, where, by eating too freely of *ſome vegetables*, which happened to pleaſe his palate, he was ſeized with a violent pain of the bowels, and *diarrhœa*; of which he ſends the following account to his friend Gallus.

Cicero to Gallus.

" After I had been labouring for ten days, with " a cruel diſorder in my bowels, yet could not " convince thoſe, who wanted me at the bar, " that I was ill, becauſe I had no fever, I ran " away to *Tuſculum*; having kept ſo ſtrict a faſt " for two days before, that I did not taſte ſo " much as water: being worn out therefore with " illneſs and faſting, I wanted rather to ſee you, " than imagined, that you expected a viſit from " me: for my part, I am afraid, I confeſs, of " all diſtempers; but eſpecially of thoſe, for " which the *Stoics* abuſe your Epicurus, when " he complains of *the ſtrangury* and *dyſentery*; " the one of which they take to be the effect of

above, of Clodius's repealing the *Ælian and Fufian Laws*, and prohibiting the Magiſtrates from obſtructing the Aſſemblies of the people, is to be underſtood only in a partial ſenſe, and that his new law extended no farther, than to hinder the Magiſtrates from diſſolving an Aſſembly, after it was actually convened and had entered upon buſineſs; for it was ſtill unlawful, we ſee, to convene an Aſſembly, while the Magiſtrate was in the act of obſerving the heavens.

[r] Cui ſuperior annus idem & virilem patris & prætextam populi judicio togam dederit. Pr. Sext. 69. it. Dio. l. 39. p. 99.

" gluttony;

A. Urb. 696. Cic. 50. Coſſ. P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS SPINTHER, Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS NEPOS.

" gluttony; the other of a more ſcandalous in-
" temperance. I was apprehenſive indeed of a
" *dyſentery*; but ſeem to have found benefit, ei-
" ther from the change of air, or the relaxation
" of my mind, or the remiſſion of the diſeaſe
" itſelf: but that you may not be ſurpriſed, how
" this ſhould happen, and what I have been
" doing to bring it upon me; the ſumptuary
" law, which ſeems to introduce a ſimplicity of
" diet, did me all this miſchief. For ſince our
" men of taſte are grown ſo fond of covering
" their tables with the productions of the Earth,
" which are excepted by the law, they have
" found a way of dreſſing muſhrooms, and all
" other vegetables, ſo palatably, that nothing
" can be more delicious: I happened to fall
" upon theſe at Lentulus's Augural ſupper, and
" was taken with ſo violent a flux, that this is
" the firſt day on which it has begun to give me
" any eaſe. Thus I, who uſed to command
" myſelf ſo eaſily in *oyſters and lampreys*, was
" caught with *bete and mallows*; but I ſhall be
" more cautious for the future: you, however,
" who muſt have heard of my illneſs from Ani-
" cius, for he ſaw me in a fit of vomiting, had
" a juſt reaſon, not only for ſending, but for
" coming yourſelf to ſee me. I think to ſtay
" here till I recruit myſelf; for I have loſt
" both my ſtrength and my fleſh; but, if I once
" get rid of my diſtemper, it will be eaſy, I
" hope, to recover the reſt [*s*]."

KING

[*s*] Ep. Fam. 7. 26.

N. B. Pliny ſays, that the *colum*, by which he is ſuppoſed to mean the Cholic, *was not* known at Rome, *till the reign of Tiberius:* but the caſe deſcribed in this Letter ſeems to come ſo very near to it, that he muſt be underſtood, rather of the name than of the thing; as the learned Dr. Le Clerk has obſerved in his Hiſtory

A. Urb. 696. Cic. 50. Coſſ. P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS SPINTHER, Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS NEPOS.

KING Ptolemy *left Rome* about this time, after he had diſtributed immenſe ſums among the Great, to purchaſe his reſtoration by *a Roman army*. The people of *Ægypt* had ſent deputies alſo after him, to plead their cauſe before the Senate, and to explain the reaſons of their expelling him; but the King contrived to get them all aſſaſſinated on the road, before they reached the City. This piece of villainy, and the notion of his having bribed all the Magiſtrates, had raiſed ſo general an averſion to him among the people, that he found it adviſeable to quit the City, and leave the management of his intereſt to his Agents. The Conſul Lentulus, who had obtained the province *of Cilicia and Cyprus*, whither he was preparing to ſet forward, was very deſirous to be charged with the commiſſion *of replacing him on his Throne*; for which he had already procured *a vote of the Senate*: the opportunity of a command, almoſt in ſight of *Ægypt*, made him generally thought to have the beſt pretenſions to that charge; and he was aſſured of Cicero's warm aſſiſtance in ſoliciting the confirmation of it.

IN this ſituation of affairs the new Tribuns entered into office: C. Cato, of the ſame family with his nameſake *Marcus*, was one of the number; a bold turbulent man, of no temper or prudence, yet a tolerable ſpeaker, and generally on the better ſide in politics. Before he had born any public office, he attempted *to impeach Gabinius of*

Hiſtory of Medicine. Plin. l. 26. 1. Le Cler. Hiſt. par. 2. l. 4. ſect. 2. c. 4.

The mention likewiſe of the δυσυρικὰ πάθη, or the *Strangury* of Epicurus, and the cenſure, which the *Stoics* paſſed upon it, would make one apt to ſuſpect, that ſome diſorders of *a venereal* kind were not unknown to the ancients.

bribery

bribery and corruption; *but not being able to get an audience of the Prætors, he had the hardneſs to mount the Roſtra*, which was never allowed to a private Citizen, and, in a ſpeech to the people, *declared Pompey Dictator:* but his preſumption had like to have coſt him dear; for it raiſed ſuch an indignation in the audience, *that he had much difficulty to eſcape with his life* [*t*]. He opened his preſent magiſtracy by declaring loudly againſt *King Ptolemy*, and all who favoured him; eſpecially Lentulus; whom he ſuppoſed to be under ſome private engagement with him, and for that reaſon was determined to baffle all their ſchemes. A. Urb. 696, Cic. 50. Coſſ. P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther, Q. Cæcilius Metellus Nepos.

Lupus likewiſe, one of his collegues, ſummoned the Senate, and raiſed an expectation of ſome uncommon propoſal from him: it was indeed of an extraordinary nature; *to reviſe and annull that famed act of Cæſar's Conſulſhip, for the diviſion of the Campanian lands: he ſpoke long and well upon it, and was heard with much attention*; *gave great praiſes to Cicero, with ſevere reflections on Cæſar, and expoſtulations with Pompey*, who was now abroad in the execution of his late commiſſion: in the concluſion he told them, *that he would not demand the opinions of the particular Senators, becauſe he had no mind to expoſe them to the reſentment and animoſity of any*; *but from the ill humour, which he remembered, when that act firſt paſſed, and the favour, with which he was now heard, he could eaſily collect the ſenſe of the Houſe.*

[*t*] Ut Cato, adoleſcens nullius conſilii,—vix vivus effugeret; quod cum Gabinium de ambitu vellet poſtulare neque Prætores diebus aliquot adiri poſſent, vel poteſtatem ſuam facerent, in concionem adſcendit, & Pompeium privatus Dictatorem appellavit. Propius nihil eſt factum, quam ut occideretur. Ep. ad Quint. Frat. 1. 2.

Upon

A. Urb. 696. Cic. 50. Coſſ. P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS SPINTHER, Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS NEPOS.

Upon which Marcellinus ſaid, *that he muſt not conclude from their ſilence, either what they liked or diſliked: that for his own part, and he might anſwer too, he believed, for the reſt, he choſe to ſay nothing on the ſubject at preſent, becauſe he thought, that the cauſe of the Campanian lands ought not to be brought upon the ſtage, in Pompey's abſence.*

THIS affair being dropt, Racilius, another Tribun, roſe up and renewed the debate about Milo's *impeachment of Clodius*, and called upon Marcellinus, the Conſul elect, to give his opinion upon it: who, after inveighing againſt all the violences of Clodius, propoſed, *that, in the firſt place, an allotment of Judges ſhould be made for the trial; and, after that, the election of Ædiles; and if any one attempted to hinder the trial, that he ſhould be deemed a public enemy.* The other Conſul elect, Philippus, was of the ſame mind; but the Tribuns, Cato and Caſſius, ſpoke againſt it, *and were for proceeding to an election before any ſtep towards a trial.* When Cicero was called upon to ſpeak, *he run through the whole ſeries of Clodius's extravagances, as if he had been accuſing him already at the bar, to the great ſatisfaction of the aſſembly:* Antiſtius, the Tribun, ſeconded him, and declared, *that no buſineſs ſhould be done before the trial*; and when the houſe was going univerſally into that opinion, *Clodius's began to ſpeak, with intent to waſt the reſt of the day, while his ſlaves and followers without, who had ſeized the ſteps and avenues of the Senate, raiſed ſo great a noiſe of a ſudden, in abuſing ſome of Milo's friends, that the Senate broke up in no ſmall hurry, and with freſh indignation at this new inſult* [u].

THERE

[u] Tum Clodius rogatus diem dicendo eximere cœpit —deinde ejus operæ repente a Græcoſtaſi & gradibus clamorem

THERE was no more buſineſs done through the remaining part of *December*, which was taken up chiefly with holy days. *Lentulus* and *Metellus*, whoſe conſulſhip expired with the year, ſet forward for their ſeveral governments; the one for *Cilicia*, the other for *Spain*: Lentulus committed the whole direction of his affairs to Cicero; and Metellus, unwilling to leave him his enemy, made up all matters with him before his departure, and wrote an affectionate letter to him afterwards from *Spain*; in which he acknowledges his ſervices, and intimates, *that he had given up his brother Clodius, in exchange for his friendſhip* [x].

CICERO's firſt concern, on the opening of the new year, was to get the commiſſion, *for reſtoring King Ptolemy*, confirmed to Lentulus; which came now under deliberation: The Tribun, Cato, was fierce, againſt reſtoring him at all, with the greateſt part of the Senate on his ſide; taking occaſion to conſult *the Sibylline books*, on the ſubject of *ſome late prodigies*, he chanced to find in them certain verſes, *forewarning the Roman people, not to replace an exiled King of Egypt, with an army*. This was ſo pat to his purpoſe, that there could be no doubt of it's being forged; but *Cato called up the Guardians of the books into the Roſtra, to teſtify the paſſage to be genuin; where it was publicly read and explaned to the people*: It was laid alſo before the Senate, who greedily received it; and, after a grave debate on this ſcruple of religion, came to a reſolution, *that it ſeemed dangerous to the republic, that the King*

A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51. Coſſ. CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS MARCELLINU, L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.

morem ſatis magnum ſuſtulerunt, opinor in Q. Sextilium & amicos Milonis incitatæ; eo metu injecto repente magna querimonia omnium diſceſſimus. Ad Quint. Fr. 2. 1.

[x] Libenterque commutata perſona, te mihi fratris loco eſſe duco. Ep. Fam. 5. 3.

A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51. Coſſ. CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS MARCELLINUS, L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.

ſhould be reſtored by a multitude [y]. It cannot be imagined, that they laid any real ſtreſs on this admonition of *the Sybil*, for there was not a man either in or out of the Houſe, *who did not take it for a fiction:* but it was a fair pretext for defeating a project, which was generally diſliked: They were unwilling to gratify any man's ambition, *of viſiting the rich country of Ægypt, at the head of an army*; and perſuaded, that without an army, no man would be ſollicitous about going thither at all [z].

THIS point being ſettled, the next queſtion was, *in what manner the King ſhould be reſtored:* various opinions were propoſed; Craſſus moved, *that three Embaſſadors, choſen from thoſe who had ſome public command, ſhould be ſent on the errand; which did not exclude Pompey:* Bibulus propoſed, *that three private Senators*; and Volcatius, *that Pompey alone ſhould be charged with it:* but Cicero, Hortenſius, and Lucullus, urged, *that Lentulus, to whom the Senate had already decreed it, and who could execute it with moſt convenience, ſhould reſtore him without an army.* The two firſt opinions were ſoon over-ruled, and the ſtruggle lay between *Lentulus and Pompey. Cicero, though he had ſome reaſon to complain of Lentulus, ſince his return*, particularly for the contemptible valuation of his houſes, yet for the great part, which he had born, in reſtoring him, was very

[y] Senatus religionis calumniam, non religione ſed malevolentia, & illius regiæ largitionis invidia comprobat. Ep. Fam. 1. 1.

De Rege Alexandrino factum eſt S. C. *cum multitudine cum reduci, periculoſum Reipub. videri.* Ad Quin. Fr. 2. 2.

[z] Hæc tamen opinio eſt populi Romani, a tuis invidis atque obtrectatoribus nomen inductum *fictæ religionis*, non tam ut te impedirent, quam ut nequis, propter exercitus cupiditatem, Alexandriam vellet ire. Ep. Fam. 1. 4.

desirous to shew his gratitude, and resolved to support him with all his authority; *Pompey*, who had obligations also to Lentulus, acted the same part towards him, which he had done before towards Cicero; by his own conduct and professions, *he seemed to have Lentulus's interest at heart; yet by the conduct of all his friends, seemed desirous to procure the employment for himself; while the King's Agents and Creditors*, fancying that their business would be served the most effectually by Pompey, *began openly to sollicit, and even to bribe for him* [*a*]. But the Senate, through Cicero's influence, stood generally inclined to Lentulus; and after a debate, which ended in his favour, Cicero, who had been the manager of it, *happening to sup with Pompey that evening, took occasion to press him with much freedom, not to suffer his name to be used in this competition; nor give a handle to his enemies, for reproaching him with the desertion of a friend, as well as an ambition, of engrossing all power to himself. Pompey seemed touched with the*

A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51. Coss. CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS MARCELLINUS, L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.

[*a*] Crassus tres legatos decernit, nec excludit Pompeium: censet enim etiam ex iis, qui cum imperio sunt. M. Bibulus tres legatos ex iis, qui privati sunt. Huic assentiuntur reliqui consulares, præter Servilium, qui omnino reduci negat oportere, & Volcatium, qui decernit Pompeio.—

Hortensii & mea & Luculli sententia—Ex illo S.C. quod te referente factum est, tibi decernit, ut reducas regem.—

Regis causâ si qui sunt qui velint, qui pauca sunt, omnes rem ad Pompeium deferri volunt. Ep. Fam. 1. 1.

Reliqui cum esset in Senatu contentio, *Lentulusne an Pompeius* reduceret, obtinere causam Lentulus videbatur. —In ea re Pompeius quid velit non despicio: familiares ejus quid cupiant, omnes vident. Creditores vero Regis aperte pecunias suppeditant contra Lentulum. Sine dubio res remota a Lentulo videtur, cum magno meo dolore: quamquam multa fecit, quare si fas esset, jure ei succensere possemus. Ad Quin. Fr. 2. 2.

A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51. Coſſ. CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS MARCELLINUS, L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.

remonſtrance, and profeſſed to have no other thought but of ſerving Lentulus, while his dependents continued ſtill to act ſo, as to convince every body that he could not be ſincere [*b*].

WHEN Lentulus's pretenſions ſeemed to be in a hopeful way, C. Cato took a new and effectual method to diſappoint them, *by propoſing a law to the people, for taking away his government and recalling him home.* This ſtroke ſurprized every body; the Senate condemned it as factious; and Lentulus's *ſon changed his habit upon it*, in order to move the Citizens, and hinder their offering ſuch an affront to his Father. The Tribun, Caninius, propoſed another law at the ſame time, *for ſending Pompey to Ægypt:* but this pleaſed no better than the other; and the Conſuls contrived, that neither of them ſhould be brought to the ſuffrage of the people [*c*]. Theſe new conteſts gave a freſh interruption *to Ptolemy's cauſe*; in which Cicero's reſolution was, if the commiſſion could not be obtained for Lentulus, *to prevent its being granted at leaſt to Pompey, and ſave themſelves the diſgrace of being baffled*

[*b*] Ego eo die caſu apud Pompeium cœnavi: nactuſque tempus hoc magis idoneum, quam unquam antea poſt tuum diſceſſum, is enim dies honeſtiſſimus nobis fuerat in Senatu, ita ſum cum illo locutus, ut mihi viderer animum hominis ab omni alia cogitatione ad tuam dignitatem tuendam traducere: quem ego ipſum cum audio, prorſus eum libero omni ſuſpicione cupiditates: cum autem ejus familiares, omnium ordinum video, perſpicio, id quod jam omnibus eſt apertum, totam rem iſtam jampridem a certis hominibus, non invito Rege ipſo—eſſe corruptam. Ep. Fam. 1. 2.

[*c*] Nos cum maxime conſilio, ſtudio, labore, gratia, de cauſa regia niteremur, ſubito extorta eſt nefaria Catonis promulgatio, quæ ſtudia noſtra impediret, & animos a minore cura ad ſummum timorem traduceret. Ibid. 5.

Suſpicor per vim rogationem Caninium perlaturum. Ad Quint. 2. 2.

by

by a competitor [*d*]: but the Senate was grown ſo ſick of the whole affair, that they reſolved to leave the King to ſhift for himſelf, without interpoſing at all in his reſtoration; and ſo the matter hung; whilſt other affairs more intereſting were daily riſing up at home, and engaging the attention of the City. A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51 Coſſ. Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus, L. Marcius Philippus.

The election of *Ædiles*, which had been induſtriouſly poſtponed through all the laſt ſummer, could not eaſily be kept off any longer: the City was impatient for its Magiſtrates: and eſpecially for the plays and ſhews, with which they uſed to entertain them; and ſeveral alſo of the new Tribuns being zealous for an election, it was held at laſt *on the twentieth of January*; when Clodius *was choſen Ædile*, without any oppoſition; ſo that Cicero began once more to put himſelf upon his guard, from the certain *expectation of a furious Ædileſhip* [*e*].

It may juſtly ſeem ſtrange, how a man ſo profligate and criminal, as Clodius, whoſe life was a perpetual inſult on all laws, divine and human, ſhould be ſuffered not only to live without puniſhment, but to obtain all the honors of a free City in their proper courſe; and it would be natural to ſuſpect, that we had been deceived in our accounts of him, by taking them from his enemies, did we not find them too firmly ſupported by facts to be called in queſtion: but a little attention to the particular character of the

[*d*] Sed vereor ne aut eripiatur nobis cauſa regia, aut deferatur.—Sed ſi res coget, eſt quiddam tertium, quod non—mihi diſplicebat; ut neque jacere Regem pateremur, nec nobis repugnantibus, ad eum deferri, ad quem prope jam delatum videtur.—Ne, ſi quid non obtinuerimus, repulſi eſſe videamur. Ep. Fam. 1. 5.

[*e*] Sed omnia fiunt tardiora propter furioſæ Ædilitatis expectationem. Ad Quint. 2. 2.

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man, as well as of the times, in which he lived, will enable us to ſolve the difficulty. Firſt, the ſplendor of his family, which had born a principal ſhare in all the triumphs of the Republic, from the very foundation of its liberty, was of great force to protect him in all his extravagances: thoſe who know any thing of *Rome*, know what a ſtrong impreſſion this ſingle circumſtance *of illuſtrious nobility would neceſſarily make upon the people*; Cicero calls the nobles of this claſs, *Prætors and Conſuls elect from their cradles, by a kind of hereditary right; whoſe very names were ſufficient to advance them to all the dignities of the ſtate* [*f*]. Secondly, his perſonal qualities were peculiarly adapted to endear him to all the meaner ſort: his bold and ready wit; his talent at haranguing; his profuſe expence; and his being the firſt of his family, who had purſued popular meaſures, againſt the maxims of his Anceſtors, who were all ſtern aſſertors of *the Ariſtocratical power*. Thirdly, the contraſt of oppoſite factions, who had each their ends in ſupporting him, contributed principally to his ſafety: the Triumvirate willingly permitted, and privately encouraged, his violences; to make their own power not only the leſs odious, but even neceſſary, for controuling the fury of ſuch an incendiary; and though it was often turned againſt themſelves, yet they choſe to bear it, and diſſemble their ability of repelling it, rather than deſtroy the man, who was playing their game for them, and by throwing

[*f*] Non idem mihi licet, quod iis, qui nobili genere nati ſunt, quibus omnia populi Romani beneficia dormientibus deferuntur.——In Verr. 5. 70.

Erat nobilitate ipſa, blanda conciliatricula commendatus. Omnes ſemper boni nobilitati favemus, &c.—— Pr. Sext. 9.

the

the Republic into confuſion, throwing it of courſe into their hands: the Senate, on the other ſide, whoſe chief apprehenſions were from the Triumvirate, thought, that the raſhneſs of Clodius might be of ſome uſe to perplex their meaſures, and ſtir up the people againſt them on proper occaſions; or it humoured their ſpleen at leaſt, *to ſee him often inſulting Pompey to his face* [g]. Laſtly, all, who envied Cicero, and deſired to leſſen his authority, privately cheriſhed an enemy, who employed all his force to drive him from the adminiſtration of affairs: this accidental concurrence of circumſtances, peculiar to the man and the times, was the thing that preſerved Clodius, whoſe inſolence could never have been endured in any quiet and regular ſtate of the City.

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BY his obtaining *the Ædileſhip*, the tables were turned between him and Milo: the one was armed with the authority of a Magiſtrate; the other become a private man: the one freed from all apprehenſion of Judges and a trial; the other expoſed to all that danger from the power of his antagoniſt: and it was not Clodius's cuſtom to neglect any advantage againſt an enemy, ſo that he now accuſed Milo of the ſame crime, of which Milo had accuſed him; *of public violence and breach of the laws in maintaining a band of Gladiators to the terror of the City.* Milo made his appearance to this accuſation, *on the ſecond of*

[g] Videtis igitur hominem per ſe ipſum jam pridem afflictum ac jacentem, perniciosis Optimatum diſcordiis excitari. — Ne a Republica Reipub. peſtis amoveretur, reſtiterunt: etiam, ne cauſam diceret: etiam ne privatus eſſet etiamne in ſinu atque in deliciis quidam optimi viri viperam illam venenatam ac peſtiferam habere potuerunt? Quo tandem decepti munere? Volo, inquiunt, eſſe qui in concione detrahat de Pompeio. De Haruſp. Reſp. 24.

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February; when Pompey, Craſſus, and Cicero appeared with him; and M. Marcellus, though Clodius's *Collegue in the Ædileſhip, ſpoke for him at Cicero's deſire*; and the whole paſſed quietly and favorably for him on that day. The ſecond hearing was appointed *on the ninth*; when Pompey undertook to plead his cauſe, but no ſooner ſtood up to ſpeak, than Clodius's mob began to exert their uſual arts, and *by a continual clamor of reproaches and invectives, endeavoured to hinder him from going on, or at leaſt from being heard:* but Pompey was too firm to be baffled; *and ſpoke for near three hours, with a preſence of mind which commanded ſilence in ſpite of their attempts.* When Clodius roſe up to anſwer him, Milo's party, in their turn, ſo diſturbed and confounded him, that he was not able to ſpeak a word; *while a number of Epigrams and Lampoons upon him and his Siſter were thrown about, and publicly rehearſed among the multitude below, ſo as to make him quite furious:* till recollecting himſelf a little, and finding it impoſſible to proceed in his ſpeech, he demanded aloud of his mob, *who it was, that attempted to ſtarve them by famine?* To which they preſently cried out, Pompey: he then aſked, *who it was that deſired to be ſent to Ægypt?* They all ecchoed, Pompey: but when he aſked, *who it was that they themſelves had a mind to ſend?* They anſwered, Craſſus: for the old jealouſy was now breaking out again between him and Pompey; *and though he appeared that day on Milo's ſide, yet he was not*, as Cicero ſays, *a real well-wiſher to him.*

THESE warm proceedings among the chiefs, brought on a fray below, among their partiſans; *the Clodians began the attack, but were repulſed by the Pompeians; and Clodius himſelf driven out of the*

the Roſtra: Cicero, when he ſaw the affair proceed to blows, thought it high time to retreat, and make the beſt of his way towards home; but no great harm was done, for Pompey, having cleared the Forum of his enemies, preſently drew off his forces, to prevent any farther miſchief or ſcandal from his ſide [*b*]. A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51. Coſſ. CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS MARCELLINUS, L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.

THE Senate was preſently ſummoned, to provide ſome remedy for theſe diſorders; where Pompey, who had drawn upon himſelf a freſh envy from his behaviour *in the Ægyptian affair*, was ſeverely handled by Bibulus, Curio, Favonius, *and others*; *Cicero choſe to be abſent, ſince he muſt either have offended Pompey, by ſaying nothing for him, or the honeſt party, by defending him.* The ſame debate was carried on for ſeveral days; in

[*b*] Ad diem IIII. Non. Febr. Milo affuit. Ei Pompeius advocatus venit. Dixit Marcellus a me rogatus. Honeſte diſceſſimus. Productus dies eſt in IIII. Id. Feb. —A. D. IIII. Idem Milo affuit. Dixit Pompeius, ſive voluit. Nam ut ſurrexit, operæ Clodianæ clamorem ſuſtulerunt: idque ei perpetua oratione contigit, non modo ut acclamatione, ſed ut convicio & maledictis impediretur. Qui ut peroravit, nam in eo ſane fortis fuit, non eſt deterritus, dixit omnia, atque interdum etiam ſilentio, cum auctoritate peregerat; ſed ut peroravit, ſurrexit Clodius: ei tantus clamor a noſtris, placuerat enim referre gratiam, ut neque mente, neque lingua, neque ore conſiſteret.—Cum omnia maledicta, tum verſus etiam obſceniſſimi in Clodium & Clodiam dicerentur. Ille furens & exſanguis interrogabat ſuos in clamore ipſo, quis eſſet, qui plebem fame necaret? Reſpondebant operæ, Pompeius. Quis Alexandriam ire cuperet? Reſpondebant, Pompeius. Quem ire vellent? Reſpondebant, Craſſum. Is aderat tum Miloni animo non amico.———

Hora fere nono, quaſi ſigno dato, Clodiani noſtros conſputare cœperunt. Exarſit dolor, urgere illi ut loco nos moverunt. Factus eſt a noſtris impetus, fuga operarum. Ejectus de Roſtris Clodius. Ac nos quoque tum fugimus, ne quid in turba.—Senatus vocatus in Curiam, Pompeius domum.———Ad Quint. Fr. 2. 3.

which

A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51. Coſſ. CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS MARCELLINUS, L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.

which Pompey was treated very roughly *by the Tribun Cato; who inveighed againſt him with great fierceneſs, and laid open his perfidy to Cicero, to whom he paid the higheſt compliments, and was heard with much attention by all Pompey's enemies.*

POMPEY anſwered him with an unuſual vehemence; and *reflecting openly on Craſſus, as the author of theſe affronts, declared, that he would guard his life with more care, than Scipio Africanus did, when Carbo murdered him.*——Theſe warm expreſſions ſeemed to open a proſpect of ſome great agitation likely to enſue: Pompey conſulted with Cicero on the proper means of his ſecurity; and acquainted him with his apprehenſions *of a deſign againſt his life; that Cato was privately ſupported, and Clodius furniſhed with money by Craſſus; and both of them encouraged by Curio, Bibulus, and the reſt, who envied him; that it was neceſſary for him to look to himſelf, ſince the meaner people were wholly alienated, the nobility and Senate generally diſaffected, and the youth corrupted.* Cicero readily conſented to join forces with him, *and to ſummon their clients and friends from all parts of* Italy: for though he had no mind to fight his battles in the Senate, he was deſirous to defend his perſon from all violence, eſpecially againſt Craſſus, whom he never loved: they reſolved likewiſe to oppoſe, with united ſtrength, *all the attempts of Clodius and Cato againſt Lentulus and Milo* [*i*]. Clodius, on the other hand, was not leſs

[*i*] Neque ego in Senatum, ne aut de tantis rebus tacerem, aut in Pompeio defendendo, nam is carpebatur a Bibulo, Curione, Favonio, Servilio filio, animos bonorum offenderem. Res in poſterum diem dilata eſt.—Eo die nihil perfectum. — Ad die II. Id.—Cato eſt vehementer in Pompeium invectus, & eum oratione perpetua tanquam reum accuſavit. De me multa me invito, cum mea ſumma laude dixit. Cum illius in me perfidiam increpavit,

leſs buſy in muſtering his friends againſt the next hearing of Milo's cauſe: but as his ſtrength was much inferior to that of his adverſary, ſo he *had no expectation of getting him condemned, nor any other view, but to teaze and haraſs him* [*k*]: for after two hearings, the affair was put off by ſeveral adjournments *to the beginning of* May; from which time we find no farther mention of it. A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51. Coſſ. CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS MARCELLINUS, L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.

THE Conſul, Marcellinus, who drew his Collegue, Philippus, along with him, was a reſolute oppoſer of *the Triumvirate*, as well as of all the violences of the other Magiſtrates: for which reaſon, he reſolved to ſuffer no aſſemblies of the people, except ſuch as were neceſſary for the elections into the annual offices: his view was, to prevent Cato's *law for recalling Lentulus, and the monſtrous things*, as Cicero calls them, *which ſome were attempting at this time in favour of Cæſar.* Cicero gives him the character *of one of the beſt Conſuls that he had ever known, and blames him only in one thing; for treating Pompey on all occaſions too rudely; which made Cicero often abſent himſelf from the Senate, to avoid taking part, either*

increpavit, auditus eſt magno ſilentio malevolorum. Reſpondit ei vehementer Pompeius, Craſſumque deſcripſit; dixitque aperte, ſe munitiorem ad cuſtodiendam vitam ſuam fore, quam Africanus fuiſſet, quem C. Carbo interemiſſet. Itaque magnæ mihi res moveri videbantur. Nam Pompeius hæc intelligit, mecumque communicat inſidias vitæ ſuæ fieri: C. Catonem a Craſſo ſuſtentari; Clodio pecuniam ſuppeditari: utrumque & ab eo & a Curione, Bibulo, cæteriſque ſuis obtrectatoribus confirmari: vehementer eſſe providendum ne opprimatur, concionario illo populo, a ſe prope alienato, nobilitate inimica, non æquo Senatu, Juventute improba; itaque ſe comparat, homines ex agris arceſſit. Operas autem ſuas Clodius confirmat. Manus ad Quirinalia paratur. In eo multo ſumus ſuperiores, &c. Ad Quint. 2. 3.

[*k*] Vid. Dio. p. 99.

on

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on the one ſide or the other [*l*]. For the ſupport therefore of his dignity and intereſt in the City, he reſumed his old taſk of pleading cauſes; which was always popular and reputable, and in which he was ſure to find full employment. His firſt cauſe was the defence of L. Beſtia, on the tenth of February, who, after the diſgrace of a repulſe from the Prætorſhip in the laſt election, was accuſed *of bribery and corruption in his ſuit for it*; and, notwithſtanding the authority and eloquence of his advocate, was convicted and baniſhed. He was a man extremely corrupt, turbulent, and ſeditious; had always been an enemy to Cicero; and ſuppoſed to be deeply engaged *in Catiline's plot*; and is one inſtance of the truth of what Cicero ſays, *that he was often forced, againſt his will, to defend certain perſons, who had not deſerved it of him, by the interceſſion of thoſe who had* [*m*].

CÆSAR, who was now in the career of his victories in *Gaul*, ſent a requeſt to the Senate; *that money might be decreed to him for the payment of his Army; with a power of chuſing ten Lieutenants, for the better management of the war, and the conquered Provinces; and that his command*

[*l*] Conſul eſt egregius Lentulus, non impediente Collega: ſic inquam bonus, ut meliorem non viderim. Dies comitiales exemit omnes.—Sic legibus perniciosiſſimus obſiſtitur, maxime Catonis—Nunc igitur Catonem Lentulus a legibus removit, & eos, qui de Cæſare monſtra promulgarunt.—Marcellinus autem hoc uno mihi minus ſatisfacit, quod eum nimis aſpere tractat, quanquam id Senatu non invito facit: quo ego me libentius a Curia, & ab omni parte Reip. ſubtraho. Ad Quint. 26.

[*m*] A. D. III. Id. dixi pro Beſtia de ambitu apud Prætorem Cn. Domitium, in Foro medio, maximo conventu.——Ad Quint. 2. 3.

Cogor nonnunquam homines non optime de me meritos, rogatu eorum qui bene meriti ſunt, defendere. Ep. Fam. 7. 1. Vid. Philip. XI. 5. Salluſt. 17. 43. Plutar. in Cic.

ſhould

ſhould be prolonged for five years more. The demand was thought very exorbitant; and it ſeemed ſtrange, that, after all his boaſted Conqueſts, he ſhould not be able to maintain his army without money from home, at a time when the treaſury was greatly exhauſted; and the renewal of a commiſſion, obtained at firſt by violence, and againſt the authority of the Senate, was of hard digeſtion. But Cæſar's intereſt prevailed, and Cicero himſelf was the promoter of it, and procured a decree to his ſatisfaction; yet not without diſguſting the old patriots, who ſtood firm to their maxim of oppoſing all extraordinary grants: but Cicero *alledged the extraordinary ſervices of Cæſar; and that the courſe of his victories ought not to be checked by the want of neceſſary ſupplies, while he was ſo glorioufly extending the bounds of the Empire, and conquering nations, whoſe names had never been heard before at* Rome: *and though it were poſſible for him to maintain his troops without their help, by the ſpoils of the enemy, yet thoſe ſpoils ought to be reſerved for the ſplendor of his Triumph, which it was not juſt to defraud by their unſeaſonable parſimony* [n]. A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51. Coſſ. CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS MARCELLINUS, L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.

HE might think it imprudent perhaps, at this time, to call Cæſar home from an unfiniſhed war, and ſtop the progreſs of his arms in the very height of his ſucceſs; yet the real motive of his conduct ſeems to have flowed, not ſo much from the merits of the cauſe, as a regard to the

[n] Illum enim arbitrabar etiam ſine hoc ſubſidio pecuniæ retinere exercitum prædа ante parta, et bellum conficere poſſe: ſed decus illud & ornamentum Triumphi minuendum noſtra parſimonia non putavi. Et quas regiones, quaſque gentes nullæ nobis, antea litteræ, nulla vox, nulla fama notas fecerat, has noſter Imperator noſterque exercitus, & populi Romani arma peragrarunt. De Prov. Conſul. XI. 13.

condition

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condition of the times, and his own circumſtances. For in his private letters he owns, "that "the malevolence and envy of the Ariſtocratical chiefs had almoſt driven him from his old "principles: and though not ſo far as to make "him forget his dignity, yet ſo as to take a "proper care of his ſafety; both which might "be eaſily conſiſtent, if there was any faith or "gravity in the Conſular Senators: but they "had managed their matters ſo ill, that thoſe "who were ſuperior to them in power, were be-"come ſuperior too in authority; ſo as to be able "to carry in the Senate, what they could not "have carried even with the people without vio-"lence: that he had learnt from experience, "what he could not learn ſo well from books, "that as no regard was to be had to our ſafety, "without a regard alſo to our dignity; ſo the con-"ſideration of dignity ought not to exclude the "care of our ſafety [*o*]." In another letter he ſays, "that the ſtate and form of the government was "quite changed; and what he had propoſed to "himſelf, as the end of all his toils, *a dignity and* "*liberty of acting and voting*, was quite loſt and "gone; that there was nothing left, but either "meanly to aſſent to the few, who governed all;

[*o*] Quorum malevolentiſſimis obtrectatonibus nos ſcito de vetere illa noſtra, diuturnaque ſententia prope jam eſſe depulſos: non nos quidem ut noſtræ dignitatis ſimus obliti, ſed ut habeamus rationem aliquando etiam ſalutis. Poterat utrumque præclare, ſi eſſet fides, ſi gravitas in hominibus Conſularibus.—

Nam qui plus opibus, armis, potentia valent, profeciſſe tantum mihi videntur ſtultitia & inconſtantia adverſariorum, ut etiam auctoritate jam plus valerent.—quod ipſe, litteris omnibus a pueritia deditus, experiundo tamen magis, quam diſcendo cognovi;—neque ſalutis noſtræ rationem habendam nobis eſſe ſine dignitate, neque dignitatis ſine ſalute. Ep. Fam. 1. 7.

" all; or weakly to oppoſe them, without doing " any good: that he had dropt therefore all " thoughts of that old Conſular gravity and " character of a reſolute Senator, and reſolved " to conform himſelf to Pompey's will; that his " great affection to Pompey made him begin to " think all things right, which were uſeful to " him; and he comforted himſelf with reflect- " ing, that the greatneſs of his obligations would " make all the world excuſe him, for defending " what Pompey liked, or, at leaſt, for not op- " poſing it; or elſe, what of all things he moſt " deſired, if his friendſhip with Pompey would " permit him, for retiring from public buſineſs, " and giving himſelf wholly up to his books [*p*]."

A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51. Coſſ. CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS MARCELLINUS, L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.

BUT he was now engaged in a cauſe, in which he was warmly and ſpecially intereſted, *the defence of P. Sextius*, the late Tribun. *Clodius, who gave Cicero's friends no reſpite*, having himſelf undetaken Milo, aſſigned the proſecution of Sextius to one of his confidents, M. Tullius Albinovanus, who accuſed him *of public violence, or breach of peace in his Tribunate* [*q*]. Sextius had

[*p*] Tantum enim animi inductio & mehercule amor erga Pompeium apud me valet, ut, quæ illi utilia ſunt, & quæ ille vult, ea mihi omnia jam & recta & vera videantur—Me quidem illa res conſolatur, quod ego is ſum, cui vel maxime concedant omnes, ut vel ea defendam, quæ Pompeius velit, vel taceam, vel etiam, id quod mihi maxime lubet, ad noſtra me ſtudia referam litterarum; quod profecto faciam, ſi mihi per ejuſdem amicitiam licebit.—

Quæ enim propoſita fuerant nobis, cum & honoribus ampliſſimis, et laboribus maximis perfuncti eſſemus, dignitas in ſententiis dicendis, libertas in Rep. capeſſenda; ea ſublata tota: ſed nec mihi magis, quam omnibus. Nam aut aſſentiendum eſt nulla cum gravitate paucis, aut fruſtra diſſentiendum. Ibid. 8.

[*q*] Qui cum omnibus ſalutis meæ defenſoribus bellum ſibi eſſe gerendum judicaverunt. Pr. Sext. 2.

been

A. Urb. 697. Cic 51. Coſſ. CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS MARCELLINUS, L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.

been a true friend to Cicero in his diſtreſs; and born a great part in his reſtoration; but as in caſes of eminent ſervice, conferred jointly by many, every one is apt to claim the firſt merit, and expect the firſt ſhare of praiſe; ſo Sextius, naturally moroſe, fanſying himſelf neglected or not ſufficiently requited by Cicero, had behaved very churliſhly towards him ſince his return: but Cicero, who was never forgetful of paſt kindneſſes, inſtead of reſenting his perverſeneſs, having heard, *that Sextius was indiſpoſed, went in perſon to his houſe, and cured him of all his jealouſies, by freely offering aſſiſtance and patronage in pleading his* cauſe [r].

THIS was a diſappointment to the proſecutors: who flattered themſelves, that Cicero was ſo much diſguſted, that he would not be perſuaded to plead for him; but he entered into the cauſe with a hearty inclination, and made it, as in effect it really was, his own [s]. In his ſpeech, which is ſtill extant, after laying open the hiſtory of his exil, and the motives of his own conduct, through the whole progreſs of it, he ſhews; "that "the onely ground of proſecuting Sextius was, "his faithful adherence to him, or rather to the "Republic; that by condemning Sextius, they "would in effect condemn him, whom all the or-"ders of the City had declared to be unjuſtly ex-"pelled, by the very ſame men, who were now "attempting to expell Sextius: that it was a "banter and ridicule on juſtice itſelf, to accuſe a

[r] Is erat æger: domum, ut debuimus, ad eum ſtatim venimus; eique nos totos tradidimus: idque fecimus præter hominum opinionem, qui nos ei jure ſuccenſere putabant, ut humaniſſimi gratiſſimique & ipſi & omnibus videremur: itaque faciemus. Ad Quint. 2. 3.

[s] P. Sextius eſt reus non ſuo ſed meo nomine, &c. Pr. Sext. 13.

"man

" man of violence, who had been left for dead " upon the ſpot, by the violence of thoſe who " accuſed him; and whoſe onely crime it was, " that he would not ſuffer himſelf to be quite " killed, but preſumed to guard his life againſt " their future attempts." In ſhort, he managed the cauſe ſo well, that Sextius was acquitted, and in a manner the moſt honorable, *by the unanimous ſuffrages of all the Judges; and with an univerſal applauſe of Cicero's humanity and gratitude* [*t*]. A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51. Coſſ. CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS MARCELLINUS, L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.

POMPEY attended this trial as a friend to Sextius; while Cæſar's *creature*, Vatinius, appeared not onely as an adverſary, but *a witneſs againſt him:* which gave Cicero an opportunity of laſhing him, as Sextius particularly deſired, with all the keenneſs of his raillery, *to the great diverſion of the audience*, for inſtead of interrogating him in the ordinary way, about the facts depoſed tn the trial, he contrived to teize him with a perpetual ſeries of queſtions, which revived and expoſed the iniquity of his factious Tribunate, and the whole courſe of his profligate life, from his firſt appearance in public; and, in ſpite of all his impudence, *quite daunted and confounded him.* Vatinius however made ſome feeble effort to defend himſelf, and rally Cicero in his turn; and among other things, reproached him *with the baſeneſs of changing ſides, and becoming Cæſar's friend, on account of the fortunate ſtate of his affairs:* to which Cicero briſkly replied, though Pompey himſelf ſtood by, *that he ſtill preferred*

[*t*] Sextius noſter abſolutus eſt. A. D. II. Id. Mart. & quod vehementer interfuit Reipub. nullam videri in ejuſmodi cauſa diſſenſionem eſſe, omnibus ſententiis abſolutus eſt—Scito nos in eo judicio conſecutos eſſe, ut omnium gratiſſimi judicaremur. Nam in defendendo homine moroſo cumulatiſſime ſatisfecimus. Ad Quint. 2. 4.

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the condition of Bibulus's Conſulſhip, which Vatinius thought abject and miſerable, to the victories and triumphs of all men whatſoever. This ſpeech againſt Vatinius is ſtill remaining, under the title of *the interrogation*; and is nothing elſe but what Cicero himſelf calls it, *a perpetual invective on the Magiſtracy of Vatinius, and the conduct of thoſe who ſupported him* [*u*].

IN the beginning of *April*, the Senate granted *the ſum of three hundred thouſand pounds to Pompey*, to be laid out *in purchaſing corn for the uſe of the City*; where there was ſtill a great ſcarcity, and as great at the ſame time of money: ſo that the moving a point ſo tender could not fail of raiſing ſome ill humour in the aſſembly; when Cicero, whoſe old ſpirits ſeemed to have revived in him, from his late ſucceſs in Sextius's cauſe, ſurprized them by propoſing, *that in the preſent inability of the treaſury to purchaſe the Campanian lands, which by Cæſar's act were to be divided to the people, the act itſelf ſhould be reconſidered, and a day appointed for that deliberation:* the motion was received with an univerſal joy, and a kind of tumultuary acclamation: the enemies of *the Triumvirate* were extremely pleaſed with it, in hopes that it would make *a breach between*

[*u*] Vatinium, a quo palam oppugnabatur, arbitratu noſtro concidimus, Diis hominibuſque plaudentibus.—Quid quæris; Homo petulans, & audax Vatinius valde perturbatus, debilitatuſque diſceſſit. Ibid.

Ego ſedente Pompeio, cum ut laudaret P. Sextium introiiſſet in urbem, dixiſſetque teſtis Vatinius, me fortuna & felicitate C. Cæſaris commotum, illi amicum eſſe cœpiſſe; dixi, me eam Bibuli fortunam, quam ille afflictam putaret, omnium triumphis victoriiſque anteferre.—Tota vero interrogatio mea nihil habuit, niſi reprehenſionem illius Tribunatus: in quo omnia dicta ſunt libertate, animoque maximo. Ep. Fam. 1. 9.

Cicero

Cicero and Pompey; but it ſerved only for a proof, of what Cicero himſelf obſerves, *that it is very hard for a man to depart from his old ſentiments in politics, when they are right and juſt* [x]. A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51. Coſſ. CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS MARCELLINUS, L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.

POMPEY, whoſe nature was ſingularly reſerved, expreſſed no uneaſineſs upon it, nor took any notice of it to Cicero, though they met and ſupped together familiarly, as they uſed to do: but he ſet forward ſoon after towards *Afric*, in order to provide corn; and intending to call at *Sardinia*, propoſed to embark at *Piſa* or *Leghorn*, that he might have an interview with Cæſar, who was now at *Luca*, the utmoſt limit of his *Gallic Government*. He found Cæſar exceedingly out of humor with Cicero; for Craſſus had already been with him at *Ravenna*, and greatly incenſed him by his acount of Cicero's late motion; which he complained of ſo heavily, that Pompey promiſed to uſe all his authority, to induce Cicero to drop the purſuit of it; and for that purpoſe ſent away an expreſs to *Rome*, to intreat him, not to procede any farther in it till his return; and when he came afterwards to *Sardinia*, where *his Lieutenant*, Q. Cicero, then reſided, he entered immediately into an expoſtulation with him about it, "recounting all his ſervices to his "Brother, and that every thing, which he had "done for him, was done with Cæſar's conſent; "and reminding him of a former converſation "between themſelves concerning Cæſar's acts,

[x] Pompeio pecunia decreta in rem frumentariam ad HS cccc. ſed eodem die vehementer actum de agro Campano, clamore Senatus prope concionali. Acriorem cauſam inopia pecuniæ faciebat, & annonæ caritas.—— Ad Quint. 2. 5.

Nonis April. mihi eſt Senatus aſſenſus, ut de agro Campano, idibus Maiis, frequenti Senatu referretur. Num potui magis in arcem illius cauſæ invadere. Ep. Fam. 1. 9.

A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51. Coſſ. CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS MARCELLINUS, L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.

" and what Quintus himſelf had undertaken for " his Brother on that head; and as he then " made himſelf anſwerable for him, ſo he was " now obliged to call him to the performance " of thoſe engagements: in ſhort, he begged of " him to preſs his Brother to ſupport and de- " fend Cæſar's intereſts and dignity, or if he " could not perſuade him to that, to engage " him at leaſt, not to act againſt them [*y*]."

THIS remonſtrance from Pompey, enforced by his Brother Quintus, ſtaggered Cicero's reſolution, and made him enter into a freſh deliberation with himſelf about the meaſures of his conduct; where, after caſting up the ſum of all his thoughts, and weighing every circumſtance, which concerned either his own or the public intereſt, he determined at laſt to drop the affair, rather than expoſe himſelf again, in his preſent ſituation, to the animoſity of Pompey and Cæſar; for which he makes the following apology to his friend Lentulus: " that thoſe, who profeſſed the " ſame principles, and were embarked in the ſame

[*y*] Hoc S. C. in ſententiam meam facto, Pompeius, cum mihi nihil oſtendiſſet ſe eſſe offenſum, in Sardiniam & in Africam profectus eſt, eoque itinere Lucam ad Cæſarem venit. Ibi multa de mea ſententia queſtus eſt Cæſar, quippe qui etiam Ravennæ Craſſum ante vidiſſet, ab eoque in me eſſet incenſus. Sane moleſte Pompeium id ferre conſtabat: quod ego, cum audiſſem ex aliis, maxime ex fratre meo cognovi; quem cum in Sardinia paucis poſt diebus, quam Luca diſceſſerat, conveniſſet. Te, inquit, ipſum cupio: nihil opportunius potuit accidere: niſi cum Marco fratre diligenter egeris, dependendum tibi eſt, quod mihi pro illo ſpopondiſti: quid multa? Queſtus eſt graviter: ſua merita commemoravit: quid egiſſet ſæpiſſime de actis Cæſaris cum meo fratre, quidque ſibi is de me recepiſſet, in memoriam redegit; ſeque quæ de mea ſalute egiſſet, voluntate Cæſaris egiſſe, ipſum meum fratrem teſtatus eſt. Ibi.

" cauſe with him, were perpetually envying and A. Urb. 697.
" thwarting him, and more diſguſted by the Cic. 51.
" ſplendor of his life, than pleaſed with any Coſſ.
" thing which he did for the public ſervice; CN. CORNE-
" that their own pleaſure, and what they could LIUS LEN-
" not even diſſemble, while he was acting with TULUS
" them, was to ſee him diſoblige Pompey, and MARCEL-
" make Cæſar his enemy; when they, at the LINUS,
" ſame time, were continually careſſing Clodius L. MARCIUS
" before his face, on purpoſe to mortify him: PHILIP-
" that if the Government indeed had fallen into PUS.
" wicked and deſperate hands, neither hopes nor
" fears, nor gratitude itſelf could have prevailed
" with him to join with them; but when Pom-
" pey held the chief ſway, who had acquired it
" by the moſt illuſtrious merit; whoſe dignity
" he had always favoured from his firſt ſetting
" out in the world, and from whom he had re-
" ceived the greateſt obligations; and who, at
" that very time, made his enemy the common
" enemy of them both; he had no reaſon to ap-
" prehend the charge of inconſtancy, if, on
" ſome occaſions, he voted and acted a little
" differently from what he uſed to do, in complai-
" ſance to ſuch a friend: that his union with
" Pompey neceſſarily included Cæſar, with
" whom both he and his Brother had a friend-
" ſhip alſo of long ſtanding; which they were
" invited to renew by all manner of civilities and
" good offices, freely offered on Cæſar's part:
" that after Cæſar's great exploits and victories,
" the Republic itſelf ſeemed to interpoſe, and
" forbid him to quarrel with ſuch men: that
" when he ſtood in need of their aſſiſtance, his
" Brother had engaged his word for him to
" Pompey, and Pompey to Cæſar; and he

A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51. Coſſ.
Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus.
L. Marcius Philippus.

" thought himſelf obliged to make good thoſe " engagements [z]."

THIS was the general ſtate of his political behaviour: he had a much larger view, and more comprehenſive knowledge both of men and things, than the other chiefs of the Ariſtocracy, Bibulus, Marcellinus, Cato, Favonius, &c. whoſe ſtiffneſs had ruined their cauſe, and brought them into the preſent ſubjection *by alienating Pompey and the Equeſtrian order from the Senate:* they conſidered *Cicero's management of the Triumvirate*, as a mean ſubmiſſion to illegal power, which they were always oppoſing and irritating, though ever ſo unſeaſonable; whereas *Cicero thought it time to give over fighting, when the forces were ſo unequal; and that the more patiently they ſuffered the dominion of their New Maſters, the more temperately they would uſe it* [a]; being

[z] Qui cum illa ſentirent in Repub. quæ ego agebam, ſemperque ſenſiſſent; me tamen non ſatisfacere Pompeio, Cæſaremque inimiciſſimum mihi futurum, gaudere ſe aiebant: hoc mihi dolendum, ſed illud multo magis, quod inimicum meum —— ſic amplexabantur —— ſic me præſente oſculabantur—Ego ſi ab improbis & perditis civibus Rempub. teneri videbam —Non modo præmiis—Sed ne periculis quidem ullis compulſus—Ad eorum cauſam me adjungerem, ne ſi ſumma quidem eorum in me merita conſtarent. Cum autem in Repub. Cn. Pompeius princeps eſſet—meumque inimicum unum in Civitate haberet inimicum, non putavi famam inconſtantiæ mihi pertimeſcendam, ſi quibuſdam in ſententiis paullum me immutaſſem, meamque voluntatem ad ſummi viri, de meque optime meriti dignitatem aggregaſſem, &c. Graviſſime autem me in hac mente impulit, & Pompeii fides, quam de me Cæſari dederat, & fratris mei, quam Pompeio. Ep. Fam. 1. 9.

[a] Neque, ut ego arbitror, errarent, ſi cum pares eſſe non poſſent, pugnare deſiſterent.

Commutata tota ratio eſt Senatus, judiciorum, Rei totius publicæ. Otium nobis exoptandum

being perſuaded, that Pompey, at leaſt, who was the head of them, had no deſigns againſt the public liberty, unleſs he were provoked and driven to it by the perverſe oppoſition of his enemies [*b*]. Theſe were the grounds of that complaiſance, which he now generally paid to him, for the ſake both of his own and the public quiet: in conſequence of which, when the appointed day came, for conſidering the caſe of *the Campanian lands*, the debate dropt of courſe, when it was underſtood that Cicero, the mover of it, was abſent, and had changed his mind: though it was not, as he intimates, without ſome ſtruggle in his own breaſt, that he ſubmitted to this ſtep, which was likely to draw upon him an imputation of levity [*c*]. A. Urb. 697. Cic 51. Coſſ. CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS MARCELLINUS, L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.

His daughter, Tullia, having now lived a widow about a year, was married *to a ſecond huſband, Furius Craſſipes; and the wedding Feaſt held at Cicero's houſe, on the ſixth of* April: we find very little ſaid, of the character or condition of this Craſſipes; but by Cicero's care in making the match, the fortune which he paid, and the congratulation of his friends upon it, he appears to have been a Nobleman of principal rank and dignity [*d*]. Atticus alſo, who was about a year younger

exoptandum eſt: quod ii, qui potiuntur rerum, præſtituri videntur, ſi quidam homines patientius eorum potentiam ferre potuerint. Dignitatem quidem illam conſularem fortis et conſtantis Senatoris, nihil eſt, quod cogitemus. Amiſſa eſt culpa eorum, qui a Senatu & ordinem conjunctiſſimum, & hominem clariſſimum abalienarunt. Ibid. 8.

[*b*] Ep. Fam. 1. 9.

[*c*] Quod Idibus & poſtridie fuerat dictum, de Agro Campano actum iri, non eſt actum. In hac cauſa mihi aqua hæret. Ad Quint. 2. 8.

[*d*] De noſtra Tullia—ſpero nos cum Craſſipede confeciſſe. Ib. 4.

A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51. Coſſ. GN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS MARCELLINUS, L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.

younger than Cicero, was married this ſpring to Pilia, and invited him to the wedding [*e*]. As to his domeſtic affairs, his chief care at preſent was about rebuilding three of his houſes, which were demoliſhed in his exil; and repairing the reſt, with that alſo of his Brother, out of which they were driven in the laſt attack of Clodius: by the hints, which he gives of them, they all ſeem to have been very magnificent, and built under the direction of the beſt Architects: Clodius gave no farther interruption to them, being forced to quit the purſuit of Cicero, in order to watch the motions of a more dangerous enemy, Milo. Cicero however was not without a ſhare of uneaſineſs, within his own walls; *his Brother's wife and his own, neither agreed well with each other, nor their own huſbands:* Quintus's was diſpleaſed at her huſband's ſtaying ſo long abroad; and Cicero's not diſpoſed to make hers the happier for ſtaying at home. His Nephew alſo, *Young Quintus*, a perverſe youth, ſpoiled by a mother's indulgence, added ſomewhat to his trouble; for he was now charged with the care of his education, in the Father's abſence; and had him taught, under his own eye, by *Tyrannio*, a Greek Maſter; who, with ſeveral other learned men of that country, was entertained in his houſe [*f*].

KING

Quod mihi de Filia & de Craſſipede gratularis--Speroque & opto hanc conjunctionem nobis voluptati fore. Ep. Fam. 1. 7.

Viaticum Craſſipes præripit. Ad Att. 4. 5.

[*e*] Prid. Id. hæc ſcripſi ante lucem. Eo die apud Pomponium in ejus nuptiis eram cœnaturus. Ad Quint. 2. 3.

[*f*] Domus utriuſque noſtrum ædificatur ſtrenue. Ib. 4. Longilium redemptorem cohortatus ſum. Fidem mihi faciebat, ſe velle nobis placere. Domus erit egregia. Ib. 6.

Quintus

KING Ptolemy's affair was no more talked of; Pompey had other buſineſs upon his hands, and was ſo ruffled by *the Tribun, Cato*, and *the Conſul, Marcellinus*, that he laid aſide all thoughts of it for himſelf, and wiſhed to ſerve Lentulus in it. The Senate had paſſed a vote *againſt reſtoring him at all; but one of the Tribuns inhibited them from proceding to a decree*; and a former decree was actually ſubſiſting in favor of Lentulus: Cicero therefore, after a conſultation with Pompey, ſent him their joint and laſt advice; "that by his "command of a Province, ſo near to *Ægypt*, "as he was the beſt judge of what he was "able to do, ſo if he found himſelf Maſter "of the thing, and was aſſured of ſucceſs, he "might leave the king at Ptolemais, or ſome "other neighbouring City, and procede with-"out him to *Alexandria*; where, if by the in-"fluence of his fleet and troops he could ap-"peaſe the public diſſenſions, and perſuade the "Inhabitants to receive their King peaceably, "he might then carry him home, and ſo reſtore "him according to the firſt decree; yet without "a multitude, as our religious men, *ſays he*, "tell us, *the Sibyl has enjoined*—that it was the "opinion however of them both, that people "would judge of the fact by the event: If he "was certain therefore of carrying his point, he "ſhould not defer it; if doubtfull, ſhould not "undertake it: for as the world would applaud

A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51. Coſſ. CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS MARCELLINUS, L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.

Quintus tuus, puer optimus, eruditur egregie. Hoc nunc magis animadverto, quod Tyrannio docet apud me. Ib. 4.

A. D. VIII. Id. Apr. Sponſalia Craſſipedi præbui. Huic convivio puer optimus, Quintus tuus, quod perleviter commotus fuerat, defuit. —Multum is mecum ſermonem habuit & perhumanum de diſcordis mulierum noſtrarum.—Pomponia autem etiam de te queſta eſt. Ib. 6.

"him

A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51. Coſſ. CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS MARCELLINUS, L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.

" him, if he effected it with eaſe, ſo a miſcar-
" riage might be fatal, on account of the late
" vote of the Senate, and the ſcruple about re-
" ligion [*g*]." But Lentulus, wiſely judging the affair too hazardous for one of his dignity and fortunes, left it to a man of a more deſperate character, Gabinius; who ruined himſelf ſoon after by embarking in it.

THE Tribun Cato, who was perpetually *inveighing againſt keeping Gladiators*, like ſo many ſtanding armies, to the terror of the Citizens, had lately *bought a band of them, but finding himſelf unable to maintain them*, was contriving to part with them again without noiſe or ſcandal. *Milo got notice of it, and privately employed a perſon, not one of his own friends, to buy them; and when they were purchaſed, Racilius, another Tribun, taking the matter upon himſelf, and pretending that they were bought for him, publiſhed a proclamation, that Cato's family of Gladiators was to be ſold by auction; which gave no ſmall diverſion to the City* [*b*].

MILO's

[*g*] Te perſpicere poſſe, qui Ciliciam Cyprumque teneas, quid efficere & quid conſequi poſſis, &, ſi res facultatem habitura videatur, ut Alexandriam atque Ægyptum tenere poſſis, eſſe & tuæ & noſtri imperii dignitatis, Ptolemaide, aut aliquo propinquo loco rege collocato, te cum claſſe, atque exercitu proficiſci Alexandriam: ut cum eam pace, præſidiiſque firmaris, Ptolemæus redeat in regnum: ita fore, ut per te reſtituatur, quemadmodum Senatus initio conſuit; & ſine multitudine reducatur, quemadmodum homines religioſi Sibyllæ placere dixerunt. Sed hæc ſententia ſic & illi & nobis probabatur, ut ex eventu homines de tuo conſilio exiſtimaturos videremus.—Nos quidem hoc ſentimus; ſi exploratum tibi ſit, poſſe te regni illius potiri; non eſſe cunctandum: ſi dubium, non eſſe conandum, &c. Ep. Fam. 1. 7.

[*b*] Ille vindex Gladiatorum & Beſtiariorum emerat —Beſtiarios—Hos alere non poterat. Itaque vix tenebat. Senſit Milo, dedit cuidam non familiari negotium, qui ſine

A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51. Coſſ. CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS MARCELLINUS, L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.

MILO's trial being put off to *the fifth of May*, Cicero took the Benefit of a ſhort vacation, to make an excurſion into the Country, and viſit his eſtates and Villa's in different parts of *Italy*. He ſpent five days at *Arpinum*, whence he proceded to his other houſes *at Pompeiæ and Cumæ*; and ſtopt a while, on his return, at *Antium*, where he had lately rebuilt his houſe, and was now diſpoſing and ordering his library, by the direction of Tyrannio; *the remains of which*, he ſays, *were more conſiderable than he expected from the late ruin. Atticus lent him two of his Librarians to aſſiſt his own*, in taking Catalogues, and placing the books in order; which he calls *the infuſion of a ſoul into the body of his houſe* [*i*]. During this tour, his old enemy, Gabinius, the Proconſul of *Syria*, having gained ſome advantage *in Judæa againſt Ariſtobulus*, who had been dethroned by Pompey, and on that account was raiſing troubles in the country, ſent *public letters to the Senate to give an account of his victory, and to beg the decree of a thankſgiving for it.* His friends took the opportunity of moving the affair in Cicero's abſence, from whoſe authority they apprehended ſome obſtruction; but the Se-

ſine ſuſpicione emeret eam familiam a Catone: quæ ſimulatque abducta eſt, Racilius rem patefecit, eoſque homices ſibi emptos eſſe dixit —& tabulam proſcripſit, ſe familiam Catonianam venditurum. In eam tabulam magni riſus conſequebantur. Ad Quin. 2. 6.

[*i*] Offendes deſignationem Tyrannionis mirificam in librorum meorum Bibliotheca; quorum reliquiæ multo meliores ſunt, quam putaram. Etiam vellum mihi mittas de tuis Librariolis duos aliquos, quibus Tyrannio utatur glutinatoribus, & ad cætera adminiſtris. Ad Att. 4. 4.

Poſtea véro quam Tyrannio mihi libros diſpoſuit, mens addita videtur meis ædibus: qua quidem in re, mirifica opera Dionyſii & Menophili tui fuit. Ib. 8.

A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51. Coſſ. CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS MARCELLINUS, L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.

nate, in a full Houſe, ſlighted his letters and rejected his ſuit: an affront, which had never been offered before to any Proconſul. Cicero was infinitely delighted with it, calls *the reſolution divine*, and was doubly pleas'd for its being *the free and genuin judgement of the Senate, without any ſtruggle or influence on his part*; and reproaching Gabinius with it afterwards, ſays, that by this act the Senate had declared, *that they could not believe that he, whom they had always known to be a traitor at home, could ever do any thing abroad, that was uſefull to the Republic* [*k*].

MANY prodigies were reported to have happened about this time, in the neighbourhood of *Rome: horrible noiſes under ground, with claſhing of Arms; and on the Alban hill a little ſhrine of Juno, which ſtood on a table facing the eaſt, turned ſuddenly of itſelf towards the north.* Theſe terrors alarmed the City, and the Senate conſulted *the Haruſpices*, who were the public Diviners or Prophets of the State, ſkill'd in all the Tuſcan diſcipline of interpreting portentous events; who gave the following anſwer in writing; *that ſupplications muſt be made to Jupiter, Saturn, Neptune, and the other Gods: that the ſolemn ſhews and plays had been negligently exhibited and polluted: ſacred and religious places made profane: Embaſſadors killed contrary to right and law: faith and*

[*k*] Id. Maiis Senatus frequens divinus fuit in Supplicatione Gabinio deneganda. Adjurat Procilius hoc nemini accidiſſe. Foris valde plauditur. Mihi cum ſua ſponte jucundum, tum jucundius, quod me abſente, eſt enim κλῆσις judicium, ſine oppugnatione, ſine gratia noſtra.——Ad Quin. 2. 8. § 4. 5.

Hoc ſtatuit Senatus, cum frequens ſupplicationem Gabinio denegavit—A proditore, atque eo, quem præſentem hoſtem Reipub. cognoſſet, bene Rempub. geri non potuiſſe. De Prov. Conſul. 6.

oaths

oaths diſregarded: ancient and hidden ſacrifices careleſsly performed, and profaned——that the Gods gave this warning, leſt by the diſcord and diſſenſion of the better ſort, dangers and deſtruction ſhould fall upon the Senate and the chiefs of the City; by which means the provinces would fall under the power of a ſingle perſon; their armies be beaten, great loſs enſue, and honors be heaped on the unworthy and diſgraced——[*l*]. A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51. Coſſ. CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS MARCELLINUS, L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.

ONE may obſerve from this anſwer, that *the Diviners* were under the Direction of thoſe, who endeavoured to apply the influence of religion to the cure of their civil diſorders: each party interpreted it according to their own views: Clodius took a handle from it of venting his ſpleen afreſh againſt Cicero; and calling the people together for that purpoſe, attempted to perſuade them, *that this divine admonition was deſigned particularly againſt him; and that the article of the ſacred and religious places referred to the caſe of his houſe; which after a ſolemn conſecration to religion, was rendered again profane; charging all the diſpleaſure of the Gods to Cicero's account, who affected nothing leſs than a tyranny, and the oppreſſion of their liberties* [*m*].

CICERO made a reply to Clodius the next day in the Senate; where, after a ſhort and general invective upon his profligate life, "he leaves "him, *he ſays*, a devoted victim to Milo, who "ſeemed to be given to them by heaven, for "the extinction of ſuch a plague; as Scipio "was for the deſtruction of *Carthage*: he de"clares the prodigy to be one of the moſt ex"traordinary, which had ever been reported to

[*l*] Vid. Argum. Manutii in Orat. de Haruſp. reſponſ. Dio. l. 39. p. 100.

[*m*] Dio. Ibid.

"the

A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51. Coſſ. CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS MARCELLINUS, L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.

" the Senate; but laughs at the abſurdity of ap-
" plying any part of it to him; ſince his houſe,
" as he proves at large, was more ſolemnly
" cleared from any ſervice or relation to religion,
" than any other houſe in Rome, by the Judge-
" ment of the Prieſts, the Senate, and all the
" orders of the City [*n*]." Then running through the ſeveral articles of the anſwer, " he ſhews them
" all to tally ſo exactly with the notorious acts
" and impieties of Clodius's life, that they could
" not poſſibly be applied to any thing elſe.——
" That as to the ſports, ſaid to be negligently
" performed and polluted, it clearly denoted the
" pollution of the *Megalenſian play*; the moſt
" venerable and religious of all other ſhews;
" which Clodius himſelf, as Ædile, exhibited
" in honor of the mother of the Gods; where
" when the Magiſtrates and Citizens were ſeated
" to partake of the diverſions, and the uſual
" proclamation was made, to command all ſlaves
" to retire; a vaſt body of them, gathered from
" all parts of the City, by the order of Clodius,
" forced their way upon the ſtage, to the great
" terror of the aſſembly; where much miſchief
" and bloodſhed would have enſued, if the
" Conſul Marcellinus, by his firmneſs and pre-
" ſence of mind, had not quieted the tumult:
" and in another repreſentation of the ſame
" plays, the ſlaves, encouraged again by Clo-
" dius, were ſo audacious and ſucceſsfull in a ſe-
" cond irruption, that they drove the whole
" company out of the Theater, and poſſeſſed
" it intirely to themſelves [*o*]: that *as to the*
" *profanation of ſacred and religious places*; it
" could not be interpreted of any thing ſo aptly,

[*n*] De Haruſpic. reſponſis. 6.

[*o*] Ibid. 10, 11, 12, 13.

" as

" as of what Clodius and his friends had done: A. Urb. 697. Cic. 54. Coſſ. CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS MARCELLINUS, L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.
" for that, in the houſe of Q. Seius, which he
" had bought after murthering the owner, there
" was a chappel and altars, which he had lately
" demoliſhed: that L. Piſo had deſtroyed a cele-
" brated chappel of Diana, where all that neigh-
" bourhood, and ſome even of the Senate, uſed
" annually to perform their family ſacrifices:
" that Serranus alſo had thrown down, burnt,
" and profaned ſeveral conſecrated Chappels, and
" raiſed other buildings upon them [*p*]: that *as*
" *to Embaſſadors killed contrary to law and right*;
" though it was commonly interpreted of thoſe
" from *Alexandria*, yet other Embaſſadors had
" been murthered, whoſe death was no leſs of-
" fenſive to the Gods; as Theodoſius, killed
" with the privity and permiſſion of Clodius; and
" Plator, by the order of Piſo [*q*]: as *to the vio-*
" *lation of faith and oaths*, that it related evidently
" to thoſe Judges, who had abſolved Clodius;
" as being one of the moſt memorable and fla-
" grant perjuries, which *Rome* had ever known;
" that the anſwer itſelf ſuggeſted this interpreta-
" tion, when it ſubjoined, *that ancient and oc-*
" *cult ſacrifices were polluted*; which could refer
" to nothing ſo properly as to the rites of the
" *Bona Dea*; which were the *moſt ancient* and
" *the moſt occult* of any in the City; celebrated
" with incredible ſecrecy to that Goddeſs, whoſe
" name it was not lawful for men to know;
" and with ceremonies, which no man ever
" pried into, but Clodius [*r*]. Then as to the
" warning, given by the Gods, of *dangers, likely*
" *to enſue from the diſſenſions of the principal*

[*p*] Ibid. 14, 15.
[*q*] Ibid. 16.
[*r*] Ibid. 17, 18.

" *Citizens*;

A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51. Coſſ. CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS MARCELLINUS, L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.

"*Citizens*; that there was no man ſo particularly active, in promoting thoſe diſſenſions, as Clodius; who was perpetually inflaming one ſide or the other; now purſuing popular, now Ariſtocratical meaſures; at one time a favorite of the Triumvirate, at another of the Senate; whoſe credit was wholly ſupported by their quarrels and animoſities. He exhorts them therefore in the concluſion, to beware of falling into thoſe miſeries, of which the Gods ſo evidently forewarned them; and to take care eſpecially, that the form of the Republic was not altered; ſince all civil conteſts between great and powerfull Citizens muſt neceſſarily end, either in an univerſal deſtruction, or a tyranny of the Conqueror: that the ſtate was now in ſo tottering a condition, that nothing could preſerve it but their concord: that there was no hope of it's being better, while Clodius remained unpuniſhed: and but one degree left of being worſe, by being wholly ruined and enſlaved; for the prevention of which, the Gods had given them this remarkable admonition; for they were not to believe, what was ſometimes repreſented on the ſtage, that any God ever deſcended from heaven to converſe familiarly with men; but that theſe extraordinary ſounds and agitations of the world, the air, the elements, were the onely voice and ſpeech, which heaven made uſe of; that theſe admoniſhed them of their danger, and pointed out the remedy; and that the Gods, by intimating ſo freely the way of their ſafety, had ſhewn, how eaſy it would be to pacify them, by pacifying onely their own animoſities and diſcords among themſelves."

ABOUT

A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51. Coſſ. CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS MARCELLINUS, L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.

ABOUT the middle of the ſummer, and before the time of chuſing new Conſuls, which was commonly *in Auguſt*, the Senate began to deliberate *on the Provinces*, which were to be aſſigned to them at the expiration of their office. *The Conſular Provinces*, about which the debate ſingly turned, were *the two Gauls*, which Cæſar now held; *Macedonia*, which Piſo; and *Syria*, which Gabinius poſſeſſed. All who ſpoke before Cicero, excepting Servilius, *were for taking one, or both the* Gauls *from Cæſar*; which was what the Senate generally deſired: but when it came to Cicero's turn, he gladly laid hold on the occaſion to revenge himſelf on Piſo and Gabinius; and exerted all his authority, to get them recalled with ſome marks of diſgrace, and their Governments aſſigned to the ſucceeding Conſuls: but as for Cæſar, his opinion was, *that his command ſhould be continued to him, till he had finiſhed the war, which he was carrying on with ſuch ſucceſs, and ſettled the conquered countries.* This gave no ſmall offence; and the *Conſul* Philippus could not forbear interrupting and reminding him, *that he had more reaſon to be angry with Cæſar, than with Gabinius himſelf; ſince Cæſar was the author and raiſer of all that ſtorm, which had oppreſſed him.* But Cicero replied, *that, in this vote, he was not purſuing his private reſentment, but the public good, which had reconciled him to Cæſar; and that he could not be an enemy to one who was deſerving ſo well of his country: that a year or two more would complete his conqueſts, and reduce all Gaul to a ſtate of peaceful ſubjection: that the cauſe was widely different between Cæſar and the other two; that Cæſar's adminiſtration was beneficial, proſperous, glorious to the Republic; theirs, ſcandalous, ignominious, hurtful to their ſubjects, and*

A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51. Coſſ. CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS MARCELLINUS, L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.

contemptible to their enemies.———In ſhort, he managed the debate ſo, that the Senate came fully into his Sentiments, and decreed *the revocation of Piſo and Gabinius* [*s*].

HE was now likewiſe engaged in pleading two conſiderable cauſes at the Bar; the one in defence of Cornelius Balbus, the other of M. Cælius. Balbus was a native of *Gades* in *Spain*, of a ſplendid family in that City, who, for his fidelity and ſervices to the Roman Generals in that Province, and eſpecially *in the Sertorian war, had the freedom of* Rome *conferred upon him by Pompey, in virtue of a law, which authoriſed him to grant it to as many as he thought proper.* But Pompey's act was now called in queſtion, as originally null and invalid, on a pretence, *that the City of* Gades *was not within the terms of that alliance and relation to* Rome, *which rendered its Citizens capable of that privilege.* Pompey and Craſſus were his advocates, and, at their deſire, Cicero alſo; who had *the third place*, or poſt of honor aſſigned to him, to give the finiſhing hand

[*s*] Itaque ego idem, qui nunc Conſulibus iis, qui deſignati erunt, Syriam, Macedoniamque decerno—Quod ſi eſſent illi optimi viri, tamen ego mea ſententia C. Cæſari nondum ſuccedendum putarem. Qua de re dicam, Patres conſcripti, quod ſentio, atque illam interpellationem familiariſſimi mei, qua paullo ante interrupta eſt oratio mea, non pertimeſcam. Negat me vir optimus inimiciorem debere eſſe Gabinio, quam Cæſari; omnem enim illam tempeſtatem, cui ceſſerim, Cæſare impulſore atque adjutore eſſe excitatam. Cui ſi primum ſic reſpondeam, me communis utilitatis habere rationem, non doloris mei. —Hic me meus in Rempub. animus priſtinus ac perennis, cum C. Cæſare reduxit, reconciliat, reſtituit in gratiam. Quod volent denique homines exiſtiment, nemini ego poſſum eſſe bene de Republica merenti non amicus. Vid. Orat. de Provin. Conſ. 8, 9, &c.

to

to the cauſe [*t*]. The proſecution was projected, not ſo much out of enmity to Balbus, as to his Patrons Pompey and Cæſar; by whoſe favor he had acquired great wealth and power; being at this time *General of the Artillery to* Cæſar, and the principal manager or ſteward of all his affairs. The Judges gave ſentence for him, and confirmed his right to the City; from which foundation he was raiſed afterwards, *by Auguſtus, to the Conſulate itſelf:* his Nephew alſo, *Young Balbus, who was made free with him at the ſame time, obtained the honor of a triumph, for his victories over the Garamantes*; and, as Pliny tells us, they *were the onely inſtances of Foreigners, and adopted Citizens, who had ever advanced themſelves to either of thoſe honours in* Rome [*u*].

A. Urb. 697. Cic 51. Coſſ. CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS MARCELLINUS, L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.

CÆLIUS, whom he next defended, was a young Gentleman *of Equeſtrian rank*, of great parts and accompliſhments, trained under the diſcipline of Cicero himſelf; to whoſe care he was committed by his Father, upon his firſt introduction into the Forum: before he was of age to hold any Magiſtracy, he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf *by two public impeachments*; the one of C. Antonius, Cicero's collegue in the Conſulſhip, *for conſpiring againſt the ſtate*; the other of L. Atratinus, *for bribery and corruption*. Atra-

[*t*] Quo mihi difficilior eſt hic extremus perorandi locus.—Sed mos eſt gerendus, non modo Cornelio, cujus ego voluntati in ejus periculis nullo modo deeſſe poſſum; ſed etiam Cn. Pompeio. Pr. Balbo. 1. 2, &c.

[*u*] Fuit & Balbus Cornelius major Conſul—Primus externorum, atque etiam in oceano genitorum uſus illo honore. Hiſt. N. 7. 43.

Garama caput Garamantum: omnia armis Romanis ſuperata, & a Cornelio Balbo triumphata, uno omnium externo curru & Quiritium jure donato: quippe Gadibus nato Civitas Rom. cum Balbo majore patruo data eſt. Ib. 5. 5.

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tinus's ſon was now revenging his Father's quarrel, and *accuſed Cælius of public violence, for being concerned in the aſſaſſination of Dio, the chief of the Alexandrian embaſſy; and of an attempt to poyſon Clodia, the ſiſter of Clodius:* he had been this Lady's Gallant; whoſe reſentment for her favors ſlighted by him, was the real ſource of all his trouble. In this ſpeech Cicero treats *the character and gallantries of Clodia, her Commerce with Cælius, and the gaieties and licentiouſneſs of youth, with ſuch a vivacity of wit and humor*, that makes it one of the moſt entertaining, which he has left to us. Cælius, who was truly *a Libertine*, lived on *the Palatin hill*, in a houſe which he hired of Clodius, and, among the other proofs of his extravagance, it was objected, *that a young man, in no public employment, ſhould take a ſeparate houſe from his Father, at the yearly rent of two hundred and fifty pounds:* to which Cicero replied, *that Clodius, he perceived, had a mind to ſell his houſe, by ſetting the value of it ſo high; whereas, in truth, it was but a little paultry dwelling, of ſmall rent, ſcarce above eighty pounds per annum* [x]. Cælius was acquitted, and ever after profeſſed the higheſt regard for Cicero; with whom he held a correſpondence of Letters, which will give us occaſion to ſpeak more of him, in the ſequel of the Hiſtory.

CICERO ſeems to have compoſed *a little Poem* about this time, in compliment to Cæſar: and excuſes his not ſending it to Atticus, "becauſe Cæſar preſſed to have it, and he had reſerved no copy: though, to confeſs the truth,

[x] Sumptus unius generis objectus eſt, habitationis: triginta millibus dixiſtis eum habitare. Nunc demum intelligo P. Clodii inſulam eſſe venalem, cujus hic in ædiculis habitet, decem, ut opinor, millibus. Pro Cælio. 7.

" *he ſays*, he found it very difficult to digeſt the meanneſs of recanting his old principles. But adieu, *ſays he*, to all right, true, honeſt councils: it is incredible, what perfidy there is in thoſe, who want to be Leaders, and who really would be ſo, if there was any faith in them. I felt what they were to my coſt, when I was drawn in, deſerted, and betrayed, by them: I reſolved ſtill to act on with them in all things; but found them the ſame as before; till by your advice I came at laſt to a better mind. You will tell me, that you adviſed me indeed to act, but not to write; 'tis true; but I was willing to put myſelf under a neceſſity of adhering to my new alliance, and preclude the poſſibility of returning to thoſe, who inſtead of pitying me, as they ought, never ceaſe envying me.—But ſince thoſe, who have no power, will not love me, my buſineſs is to acquire the love of thoſe who have: you will ſay, I wiſh that you had done it long ago; I know you wiſhed it; and I was a mere Aſs for not minding you [*y*]."

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IN

[*y*] Urgebar ab eo, ad quem miſi, & non habebam exemplar. quid? etiam, (dudum circumrodo, quod devorandum eſt) ſubturpicula mihi videbatur παλινῳδία; ſed valeant recta, vera, honeſta conſilia. Non eſt credibile, quæ ſit perfidia in iſtis principibus, ut volunt eſſe, & ut eſſent, ſi quicquam haberent fidei. Senſeram, noram, inductus, relictus, projectus ab iis: tamen hoc erat in animo, ut cum iis in Rep. conſentirem. Iidem erant, qui fuerant. Vix aliquando te auctore reſipivi. Dices, ea te monuiſſe, quæ facerem, non etiam ut ſcriberem. Ego mehercule mihi neceſſitatem volui imponere hujus novæ conjunctionis, ne qua mihi liceret labi ad illos, qui etiam tum cum miſereri mei debent, non deſinunt invidere. Sed tamen modici fuimus ὑποθέσει, ut ſcripſi—— Sed quoniam qui nihil poſſunt, ii me amare nolunt, demus

A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51. Coſſ. CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS MARCELLINUS, L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.

IN this year alſo, Cicero wrote that celebrated letter to Lucceius, in which he preſſes him, *to attempt the hiſtory of his tranſactions:* Lucceius was a man of eminent learning and abilities, and had juſt finiſhed *the hiſtory of the Italick and Marian civil wars*; with intent to carry it down through his own times, and, in the general relation, to include, as he had promiſed, a particular account of Cicero's acts: but Cicero, who was pleaſed with his ſtile and manner of writing, labours to engage him in this letter, to poſtpone the deſign of his continued hiſtory, and enter directly on that ſeparate period, "from the beginning of his Conſulſhip to his reſtoration; "comprehending Catiline's conſpiracy, and his "own exil." He obſerves, "that this ſhort "interval was diſtinguiſhed with ſuch a variety "of incidents, and unexpected turns of fortune, "as furniſhed the happieſt materials, both to "the ſkill of the writer, and the entertainment "of the reader; that, when an author's attention was confined to a ſingle and ſelect ſubject, "he was more capable of adorning it, and diſplaying his talents, than in the wide and diffuſive field of general hiſtory; but if he did "not think the facts themſelves worth the pains "of adorning, that he would yet allow ſo much "to friendſhip, to affection, and even to that "favor, which he had ſo laudably diſclaimed in "his Prefaces, as not to confine himſelf ſcrupulouſly to the ſtrict laws of hiſtory, and the "rules of truth.——That, if he would under-"take it, he would ſupply him with ſome rough

demus operam, ut ab iis, qui poſſunt, diligamur. dices, vellem jampridem. Scio te voluiſſe, & me aſinum germanum fuiſſe. Ad Att. 4, 5.

Scribis poema ab eo noſtrum probari. Ad Quint. 2. 15.

" memoirs, or commentaries, for the foundation A. Urb. 697.
" of his work; if not, that he himſelf ſhould be Cic. 51.
" forced to do, what many had done before Coſſ.
" him, write his own life; a taſk liable to Cn. Cornelius Lentulus
" many exceptions and difficulties; where a Marcellinus,
" man would neceſſarily be reſtrained by mo- L. Marcius
" deſty, on the one hand, or partiality on the Philippus.
" other, either for blaming, or praiſing him-
" ſelf, ſo much as he deſerved, &c. [z]."

This letter is conſtantly alledged as a proof of Cicero's vanity, and exceſſive love of praiſe: but we muſt conſider it as written, not by a philoſopher, but a ſtateſman, conſcious of the greateſt ſervices to his country, for which he had been barbarouſly treated; and, on that account, the more eager to have them repreſented in an advantageous light: and impatient to taſt ſome part of that glory when living, which he was ſure to reap from them when dead: and as to the paſſage which gives the offence, where he preſſes his friend *to exceed even the bounds of truth in his praiſes*; it is urged onely, we ſee, conditionally, and upon an abſurd or improbable ſuppoſition, *that Lucceius did not think the acts themſelves really laudable, or worth praiſing:* but whatever exceptions there may be to the morality, there can be none to the elegance and compoſition of the letter; which is filled with a variety of beautifull ſentiments, illuſtrated by examples, drawn from a perfect knowledge of hiſtory; ſo that it is juſtly ranked among the capital pieces of the epiſtolary kind, which remain to us from antiquity. Cicero had employed more than ordinary pains upon it, and was pleaſed with his ſucceſs in it: for he mentions it to Atticus with no ſmall ſatisfac-

[z] Ep. Fam. 12.

A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51. Coſſ. CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS MARCELLINUS, L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.

tion, and wiſhed him to get a copy of it from their friend Lucceius. The effect of it was, that Lucceius *undertook what Cicero deſired*, and probably made ſome progreſs in it, ſince Cicero ſent him *the memoirs*, which he promiſed, and Lucceius lived many years after, in an uninterrupted friendſhip with him, though neither this, nor any other of his writings had the fortune to be preſerved to ſucceeding ages [*a*].

ALL people's eyes and inclinations began now to turn towards Cæſar, who by the eclat of his victories, ſeemed to rival the fame of Pompey himſelf; and, by his addreſs and generoſity, gained ground upon him daily in authority and influence in public affairs. He ſpent the winter at *Luca*; whither a vaſt concourſe of all ranks reſorted to him from *Rome*. Here Pompey and Craſſus were again made friends by him; and a project formed, *that they ſhould jointly ſeize the Conſulſhip for the next year, though they had not declared themſelves Candidates, within the uſual time*. L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, a profeſſed enemy, was one of the competitors; who thinking himſelf ſure of ſucceſs, could not forbear bragging, *that he would effect, when Conſul, what he could not do when Prætor, reſcind Cæſar's acts, and recall him from his Government* [*b*]; which made them reſolve at all hazards to defeat him,

[*a*] Epiſtolam, Lucceio quam miſi—fac ut ab eo ſumas: valde bella eſt: eumque ut adproperet adhorteris, &, quod mihi ſe ita facturum reſcripſit, agas gratias. Ad Att. 4. 6.

Tu Lucceio librum noſtrum dabis. Ibid. 11.

[*b*] Sed cum L. Domitius conſulatus Candidatus palam minaretur, Conſulem ſe effecturum, quod Prætor nequiſſet, adempturumque ei exercitus. Craſſum Pompeiumque in urbem Provinciæ ſuæ Lucam extractos compulit, ut detrudendi Domitii cauſa alterum Conſulatum peterent. Sueton. J. Cæſ. 24.

What

What greatly favored their deſign was the obſtinacy of the Tribun, C. Cato; who, to revenge himſelf on Marcellinus, for not ſuffering him to hold *any aſſemblies of the people, for promulgating his laws, would not ſuffer the Conſuls to hold any, for the choice of the Magiſtrates* [c]. *The Triumvirate* ſupported him in this reſolution till the year expired, and the Government fell into *an Inter-regnum*; when by faction and violence, and the terror of troops poured into the City, *they extorted the Conſulſhip out of the hands of Domitius, and ſecured it to themſelves* [d]. This made Pompey generally odious, who, in all this heigth of greatneſs, could not defend himſelf from the perpetual railleries and inſults of his adverſaries; which yet he bore with ſingular temper and patience. Marcellinus was conſtantly alarming the City with the danger of his power; and as he was haranguing one day on that ſubject, being encouraged by a general acclamation of the people; *cry out, Citizens*, ſays he, *cry out while you may; for it will not be long in your power to do ſo with ſafety* [e]. Cn. Piſo alſo, a Young Nobleman, who had impeached Manilius Criſpus, a man of Prætorian rank and notoriouſly guilty, being provoked by Pompey's protection of him, turned his attack againſt Pompey himſelf, and charged him with many crimes againſt the State; being aſked therefore by Pompey, why he did not

A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51. Coſſ. CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS MARCELLINUS, L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.

[c] Conſul—dies comitiales exemit omnes—C. Cato concionatus eſt, comitia haberi non ſiturum, ſi ſibi cum populo agendi dies eſſent exempti. Ad Quint. 2. 6.

[d] Quid enim hoc miſerius, quam eum, qui tot annos, quod habet, deſignatus Conſul fuerit, Conſulem fieri non poſſe? &c. Ad Att. 4. 8. Vid. Dio. p. 103.

[e] Acclamate, inquit, Quirites, acclamate, dum licet: jam enim vobis impune facere non licebit. Val. Max. 6. 2.

chuſe

A. Urb. 698. Cic. 52. Coſſ. CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS II. M. LICINIUS CRASSUS II.

chuſe to impeach him rather than the Criminal, he replied briſkly, *that he would give bail to ſtand a trial, without raiſing a civil war, he would ſoon bring him before his Judges* [*f*].

DURING the continuance of theſe tumults, occaſioned by the election of the new Conſuls, Cicero retired into the country; where he ſtaid to the beginning of *May*, much out of humor, and diſguſted both with the Republic and himſelf. Atticus's conſtant advice to him was, *to conſult his ſafety and intereſt, by uniting himſelf with the men of power*; and they, on their part, were as conſtantly inviting him to it, by all poſſible aſſurances of their affection: but in his anſwers to Atticus he obſerves; "that their two caſes "were very different; that Atticus, having no "peculiar character, ſuffered no peculiar indig- "nity; nothing but what was common to all "the Citizens; whereas his own condition was "ſuch, that if he ſpoke what he ought to do, he "ſhould be looked upon as a madman; if what "was uſefull onely to himſelf, as a ſlave; if no- "thing at all, as quite oppreſſed and ſubdued: "that his uneaſineſs was the greater, becauſe he "could not ſhew it without being thought un- "gratefull—ſhall I withdraw myſelf then, *ſays* "*he*, from buſineſs, and retire to the port of "eaſe? That will not be allowed to me. Shall "I follow theſe Leaders to the wars, and, after "having refuſed to command, ſubmit to be "commanded? I will do ſo; for I ſee that it is "your advice, and wiſh that I had always fol-

[*f*] Da, inquit, prædes Reip. te, ſi poſtulatus fueris, civile bellum non excitaturam; etiam de tuo prius, quam de Manilii capite, in concilium judices mittam. Ibid.

"lowed

" lowed it: or ſhall I reſume my poſts and enter A. Urb. 698.
" again into affairs? I cannot perſuade myſelf to Cic. 52.
" that, but begin to think Philoxenus in the Coſſ.
" right; who choſe to be carried back to pri- CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS II.
" ſon rather than commend the Tyrant's M. LICINIUS CRASSUS II.
" verſes. This is what I am now meditating;
" to declare my diſlike at leaſt of what they are
" doing [g]."

SUCH were the agitations of his mind at this time, as he frequently ſignifies in his letters: he was now at one of his Villa's, on the delightfull ſhore of *Baiæ*, the chief place of reſort and pleaſure for the great and rich; *Pompey came thither in April, and no ſooner arrived, than he ſent him his compliments*, and ſpent his whole time with him: *they had much diſcourſe on public affairs, in which Pompey expreſſed great uneaſineſs, and owned himſelf diſſatisfied with his own part in them*; but Cicero, in his account of the converſation, intimates *ſome ſuſpicion of his ſincerity* [b]. In

[g] Tu quidem, etſi es natura πολιτικὸς, tamen nullam habes propriam ſervitutem: communi fueris nomine. Ego vero, qui, ſi loquor de Repub. quod oportet, inſanus, ſi quod opus eſt, ſervus exiſtimor, ſi taceo, oppreſſus & captus; quo dolore eſſe debeo? quo ſum ſcilicet hoc etiam acriore, quod ne dolere quidem poſſum, ut non ingratus videar. Quid ſi ceſſare libeat & in otii portum confugere? Nequicquam. Immo etiam in bellum & in caſtra: ergo erimus ὁπαδοὶ, qui ταγοὶ eſſe noluimus? Sic faciendum eſt; tibi enim ipſi, cui utinam ſemper paruiſſem, ſic video placere. Reliqui eſt, Στάσιν ἔλαχες, ταύτην νέμου; non mehercule poſſum: & Philoxeno ignoſco, qui reduci in carcerem maluit. Veruntamen id ipſum mecum in his locis commentor, ut iſta improbem. Ad At. 4. 6.

The ſtory of Dionyſius the Tyrant of Syracuſe, and Philoxenus the Poet, is told by Diodorus Siculus. Lib. 15. p. 331.

[b] Pompeius in Cumanum Parilibus venit: miſit ad me ſtatim qui ſalutem nunciaret: ad eum poſtridie mane

A. Urb. 698. Cic. 52. Coſſ. CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS II. M. LICINIUS CRASSUS II.

In the midſt of this company and diverſion, *Cicero's entertainment was in his ſtudies*; for he never reſided any where without ſecuring to himſelf the uſe of a good library: here he had *the command of Fauſtus's*, the ſon of Sylla, and ſon-in-law of Pompey; one of the beſt collections of *Italy*; gathered from the ſpoils of *Greece*, and eſpecially of *Athens*, from which *Sylla brought away many thouſand volumes*. He had no body in the houſe with him, but Dionyſius, a learned *Greek ſlave*, whom Atticus had made free, and who was entruſted with the inſtruction of *the two young Cicero's*, the ſon and the Nephew: *with this companion, he was devouring books, ſince the wretched ſtate of the public had deprived him, as he tells us, of all other pleaſures. I had much rather*, ſays he to Atticus, *be ſitting on your little bench, under Ariſtotle's picture, than in the Curule chairs of our great ones; or taking a turn with you in your walks, than with him, whom it muſt, I ſee, be my fate to walk with: as for the ſucceſs of that walk, let fortune look to it, or ſome God, if there be any, who takes care of us* [*i*]. He mentions in

mane vadebam——Ad Att. 4. x.

Nos hic cum Pompeio fuimus: ſane ſibi diſplicens; ut loquebatur; ſic eſt enim in hoc homine dicendum.—In nos vero ſuaviſſime effuſus; venit etiam ad me in Cumanum a ſe. Ib. 9.

[*i*] Ego hic paſcor Bibliotheca Fauſti. Fortaſſe tu putabas his rebus Puteolanis & Lucrinenſibus. Ne iſta quidem deſunt. Sed mehercule a cæteris oblectationibus deſetor & voluptatibus propter Rempub. ſic literis ſuſtentor & recreor; maloque in illa tua ſedecula, quam habes ſub imagine Ariſtotelis, ſedere, quam in iſtorum ſella curuli, tecumque apud te ambulare, quam cum eo, quocum video eſſe ambulandum. Sed de illa ambulatione ſors videret, aut ſi qui eſt, qui curet Deus. Ib. 10.

Nos hic voramus literas cum homine mirifico, ita mehercule ſentio, Dionyſio. Ib. 11.

the

the ſame letter a current report at *Puteoli, that King Ptolemy was reſtored; and deſires to know, what account they had of it at Rome:* the report was very true; for Gabinius, tempted by Ptolemy's gold, and the plunder of *Ægypt*; and encouraged alſo, as ſome write, *by Pompey himſelf*, undertook to replace him on the Throne with *his Syrian Army*; which he executed with a high hand, and the deſtruction of all the King's enemies; *in open defiance of the authority of the Senate, and the direction of the Sibyl:* this made a great noiſe at *Rome*, and irritated the people to ſuch a degree, that they reſolved to make him feel their diſpleaſure for it very ſeverely, at his return [*k*]. A. Urb. 698. Cic. 52. Coſſ. Cn. Pompeius Magnus II. M. Licinius Craſſus II.

His Collegue Piſo came home the firſt from his nearer Government of *Macedonia*; after an inglorious adminiſtration of a Province, *whence no Conſular Senator had ever returned, but to a triumph.* For though, on the account of ſome trifling advantage in the field, he had procured himſelf *to be ſaluted Emperor by his army*, yet the occaſion was ſo contemptible, *that he durſt not ſend any letters upon it to the Senate:* but after oppreſſing the ſubjects, plundering the allies, and loſing the beſt part of his troops againſt the neighbouring barbarians, who invaded and laid waſte the country, he ran away in diſguiſe from a mutiny of the ſoldiers, whom he diſbanded at laſt without their pay [*l*]. When he arrived at *Rome*,

[*k*] Vid. Dio. l. 39. p. 116, &c.

[*l*] Ex qua aliquot Prætorio imperio, Conſulari quidem nemo rediit, qui incolumis fuerit, qui non triumpharit. In Piſon. 16. Ut ex ea provincia, quæ fuit ex omnibus una maxime triumphalis, nullas ſit ad Senatum litteras mittere auſus. —Nuncius ad Senatum miſſus eſt nullus. Ib. 19.

Mitto

A. Urb. 698. Cic. 52. Coſſ. CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS II. M. LICINIUS CRASSUS II.

Rome, he ſtript his Faſces of their laurel, and entered the City obſcurely and ignominiouſly, without any other attendance than his own retinue [*m*]. On his firſt appearance in public, truſting to the authority of his ſon-in-law, Cæſar, he had the hardineſs to attack Cicero, and complain to the Senate of his injurious treatment of him: but when he began *to reproach him with the diſgrace of his exil, the whole Aſſembly interrupted him by a loud and general clamor* [*n*]. Among other things, with which he upbraided Cicero, he told him, *that it was not any envy for what he had done, but the vanity of what he had ſaid, which had driven him into exil; and that a ſingle verſe of his,*

Cedunt arma Togæ, concedat laurea linguæ,

was the cauſe of all his calamity; by provoking Pompey to make him feel, how much *the power of the General was ſuperior to that of the Orator:* he put him in mind alſo, *that it was mean and ungenerous to exert his ſpleen onely againſt ſuch, whom he had reaſon to contemn, without daring to*

Mitto de amiſſa maxima parte exercitus—20.

Dyrrhachium ut venit decedens, obſeſſus eſt ab iis ipſis militibus—Quibus cum juratus affirmaſſet, ſe, quæ deberentur, poſtero die perſoluturum; domum ſe abdidit: inde nocte intempeſta crepidatus, veſte ſervili navem conſcendit.—38.

[*m*] Sic iſte—Macedonicus Imperator in urbem ſe intulit, ut nullius negotiatoris obſcuriſſimi reditus unquam fuerit deſertior.—23.

Cum tu—detractam e cruentis faſcibus lauream ad portam Eſquilinam abjeciſti.—Ib. 30.

[*n*] Tune auſus es meum diſceſſum illum—maledicti & contumeliæ loco ponere? Quo quidem tempore cepi, Patres conſcripti, fructum immortalem veſtri in me amoris—qui non admurmuratione, ſed voce & clamore abjecti hominis—petulantiam fregiſtis. Ib. 14.

meddle

meddle with thoſe, who had more power, and where his reſentment was more due [o]. But it had been better for him, to have ſtifled his complaints and ſuffered Cicero to be quiet; who exaſperated by his imprudent attack, made a Reply to him upon the ſpot, in *an Invective ſpeech*, the ſevereſt perhaps, that was ever ſpoken by any man, on the perſon, the parts, the whole life and conduct of Piſo; which, as long as the *Roman* name ſubſiſts, muſt deliver down a moſt deteſtable character of him to all poſterity. As to the verſe, with which he was urged, he ridicules the abſurdity of Piſo's application of it, and tells him, "that he had contrived a very extraordinary pu-"niſhment for *poor poets*, if they were to be ba-"niſhed for every *bad line*: that he was a Critic "of a new kind; not an Ariſtarchus, but a "Grammatical Phalaris; who, inſtead of ex-"punging the verſe, was for deſtroying the au-"thor: that the verſe itſelf could not imply any "affront to any man whatſoever: that he was "an aſs, and did not know his letters, to ima-"gine, that by the Gown, he meant his own "gown; or by arms, the arms of any particu-"lar General; and not to ſee, that he was "ſpeaking onely in the Poetical ſtile; and as the "one was the emblem of peace, the other of "war, that he could mean nothing elſe, than "that the tumults and dangers, with which the "City had been threatened, muſt now give way "to peace and tranquillity: that he might have

A. Urb. 698. Cic. 52. Coſſ. Cn. Pompeius Magnus II. M. Licinius Crassus II.

[o] Non ulla tibi, inquit, invidia nocuit, ſed verſus tui. —Hæc res tibi fluctus illos excitavit—Tuæ dicis, inquit, Togæ, ſummum Imperatorem eſſe ceſſurum.— Paullo ante dixiſti me cum iis confligere, quos deſpicerem; non attingere eos, qui plus poſſent, quibus iratus eſſe deberem. Ib. 29, 30, 31.

"ſtuck

A. Urb. 698. Cic. 52. Coſſ. CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS II. M. LICIUINS CRASSUS II.

" ſtuck a little indeed in explaining the latter " part of the verſe, if Piſo himſelf had not " helped him out; who, by trampling his own " *laurel* under foot at the Gates of *Rome*, had " declared how much he thought it inferior to " every other kind of honor——that as for " Pompey, it was ſilly to think that, after the " volumes, which he had written in his praiſe, " one *ſilly verſe* ſhould make him at laſt his ene- " my: but that in truth, he never was his ene- " my; and if, on a certain occaſion, he had " ſhewn any coldneſs towards him, it was all " owing to the perfidy and malice of ſuch as " Piſo; who were continually infuſing jealouſies " and ſuſpicions into him, till they had removed " from his confidence all who loved either him, " or the Republic [*p*]."

ABOUT this time, the Theater, which Pompey had built at his own charge, for the uſe and ornament of the City, was ſolemnly opened and dedicated: it is much celebrated by the ancients, for it's grandor and magnificence: the plan was taken from the Theater of *Mytilene*, but greatly

[*p*] Quoniam te non Ariſtarchum, ſed Grammaticum Phalarim habemus, qui non notam apponas ad malum verſum, ſed poetam armis proſequare—Quid nunc te, Aſine, literas doceam? Non dixi hanc togam, qua ſum amictus, nec arma, ſcutum & gladium unius Imperatoris: ſed quod pacis eſt inſigne & otii, toga; contra autem arma, tumultus ac belli, more poetarum locutus, hoc intelligi volui, bellum ac tumultum paci atque otio conceſſurum— in altero— hærerem, niſi tu expediſſes. Nam cum tu—detractam e cruentis faſcibus lauream ad portam Eſquilinam abjeciſti, indicaſti, non modo ampliſſimæ, ſed etiam minimæ laudi lauream conceſſiſſe—Vis Pompeium iſto verſu inimicum mihi eſſe factum—Primo nonne compenſabit cum uno verſiculo tot mea volumina laudum ſuarum? Veſtræ fraudes,—veſtræ criminationes inſidiarum mearum—effecerunt ut ego excluderer —&c. In Piſon. 30, 31.

enlarged,

enlarged, ſo as to receive commodiouſly *forty thouſand people.* It was ſurrounded *by a Portico, to ſhelter the company in bad weather, and had a Curia, or Senate-houſe, annexed to it; with a Baſilica alſo, or grand Hall, proper for the ſittings of Judges,* or any other public buſineſs: which were all finiſhed *at Pompey's coſt, and adorned with a great number of Images, formed by the ableſt maſters, of men and women, famed for ſomething very remarkable or prodigious in their lives and characters* [q]. Atticus undertook the care of *placing all theſe ſtatues,* for which Pompey charged Cicero *with his thanks to him* [r]: but what made this Fabric the more ſurpriſing and ſplendid, was a *beautiful Temple, erected at one end of it to Venus the Conquereſs; and ſo contrived, that the ſeats of the Theater might ſerve as ſtairs to the Temple.* This was deſigned, it is ſaid, *to avoid the reproach of making ſo vaſt an expence for the meer uſe of luxury; the Temple being ſo placed, that thoſe who came to the ſhews, might ſeem to come to worſhip the Goddeſs* [s].

A. Urb. 698. Cic. 52. Coſſ. Cn. Pompeius Magnus II. M. Licinius Craſſus II.

[q] Pompeius Magnus in ornamentis Theatri mirabiles famo poſuit imagines; ob id diligentius magnorum artificum ingeniis elaboratas: inter quas legitur Eutyche, a viginti liberis rogo illata, enixa triginta partus; Alcippe, Elephantum. Plin. H. 7. 3.

[r] Tibi etiam gratias agebat, quod ſigna componenda ſuſcepiſſes. Ad Att. 4. 9.

[s] Quum Pompeius, inquit, ædem Victoriæ dedicaturus eſſet, cujus gradus vicem Theatri eſſent, &c. A. Gell. X. 1. Vid. Tertull. de Spectat.

Dion. Caſſius mentions it, as a tradition, that he had met with, that this Theater was not really built by Pompey, but by his Freedman, Demetrius, who had made himſelf richer than his maſter, by attending him in his wars; and to take off the envy of raiſing ſo vaſt an eſtate, laid out a conſiderable part of it upon the Theater, and gave the honor of it to Pompey. Dio. p. 107. Senec. de Tranq. Anim. c. 8.

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AT the ſolemnity of this dedication, Pompey entertained the people with *the moſt magnificent ſhews*, which had ever been exhibited in *Rome*: *in the Theater, were ſtage plays, prizes of muſic, wreſtling, and all kinds of bodily exerciſes: in the Circus, horſe-races, and huntings of wild beaſts for five days ſucceſſively; in which five hundred lions were killed*; and on the laſt day, *twenty elephants: whoſe lamentable howling, when mortally wounded, raiſed ſuch a commiſeration in the multitude, from a vulgar notion of their great ſenſe and love to man, that it deſtroyed the whole diverſion of the ſhew, and drew curſes on Pompey himſelf, for being the author of ſo much cruelty* [*t*]. So true it is, what Cicero obſerves of this kind of prodigality; *that there is no real dignity or laſting honour in it; that it ſatiates, while it pleaſes, and is forgotten, as ſoon as it is over* [*u*]. It gives us however a genuin Idea of the wealth and grandor of theſe principal ſubjects of *Rome*; who, from their private revenues, could raiſe ſuch noble buildings, and provide ſuch ſhews, from the ſeveral quarters of the world, which no monarch on earth is now able to exhibit.

[*t*] Magnificentiſſima vero Pompeii noſtri munera in ſecundo Conſulatu. De Off. 2. 16.

Pompeii quoque altero Conſulatu, dedicatione Templi Veneris Victricis, pugnavere in Circo viginti Elephantes—— Amiſſa fugæ ſpe miſericordiam vulgi inenarrabili habitu querentes ſupplicavere, quadam ſeſe lamentatione complorantes, tanto populi dolore, ut oblitus Imperatoris—Flens univerſus conſurgeret, diraſque Pompeio, quas ille mox luit, pœnas imprecaretur—Plin. l. 8. 7. Vid. Dio. l. 39. p. 107. It. Plutar. in Pomp.

[*u*] In his infinitis—ſumptibus, nihil nos magnopere mirari: cum nec neceſſitati ſubveniatur, nec dignitas augeatur: ipſaque illa delectatio multitudinis ſit ad breve exiguumque tempus · in quo tamen ipſo, una cum ſatietate memoria quoque moriatur voluptatis. De Off. 2. 16.

CICERO,

CICERO, contrary to his cuſtom, was preſent at theſe ſhews, out of compliment to Pompey, and gives a particular account of them to his friend M. Marius, who could not be drawn by them from his books and retreat in the country. "The old actors, *ſays he*, who had left the ſtage, "came on to it again, in honor to Pompey; but "for the ſake of their own honor, ought rather "to have ſtaid away; our friend Æſopus ap- "peared to be quite ſunk and worn out; ſo that "all people ſeemed willing to grant him his qui- "etus: for in attempting to raiſe his voice, "where he had occaſion to ſwear, his ſpeech "faultered and failed him—— In the other "plays, the vaſt apparatus, and crouded machi- "nery, which raiſed the admiration of the mob, "ſpoiled the entertainment: ſix hundred mules, "infinite treaſures of plate, troops of horſe and "foot fighting on the ſtage.——The huntings "indeed were magnificent, but what pleaſure to "a man of taſt, to ſee a poor weak fellow torn "to pieces by a fierce beaſt; or a noble beaſt "ſtruck dead with a ſpear: the laſt day's ſhew "of Elephants, inſtead of delight, raiſed a ge- "neral compaſſion, and an opinion of ſome re- "lation between that animal and man: but leſt "you ſhould think me wholly happy, in theſe "days of diverſion, I have almoſt burſt myſelf "in the defence of your friend Gallus Caninius: "if the City would be as kind to me, as they "are to Æſopus, I would willingly quit the "ſtage, to live with you, and ſuch as you, in a "polite and liberal eaſe [*x*]."

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THE City continued for a great part of this ſummer without it's annual Magiſtrates: for the

[*x*] Ep. Fam. 7. 1

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elections, which had been poſtponed from the laſt year, were ſtill kept off by the Conſuls, till they could ſettle them to their minds, and ſecure them to their own Creatures: which they effected at laſt, except in the caſe of *two Tribuns*, who ſlipt into the office againſt their will: but the moſt remarkable repulſe was, of M. Cato *from the Prætorſhip*, which was given to Vatinius; from the beſt Citizen, to the worſt. Cato, upon his return from *the Cyprian* voyage, was complimented by the Senate for that ſervice with *the offer of the Prætorſhip, in an extraordinary manner* [y]. But he declined the compliment, thinking it more agreeable to his character to obtain it in the ordinary way, by the free choice of the people: but when the election came on, in which he was thought ſure of ſucceſs, Pompey *broke up the aſſembly, on pretence of ſomewhat inauſpicious in the heavens, and, by intrigue and management, got Vatinius declared Prætor, who had been repulſed the year before with diſgrace from the Ædileſhip* [z]: but this being carried by force of money, and likely to produce an impeachment of Vatinius, Afranius moved for a decree, *that the Prætors ſhould not be queſtioned for bribery after their election*; which paſſed againſt the general humor of the Senate; *with an exception onely, of ſixty days, in which they were to be conſidered as private men.* The pretence for the decree was, that ſo much of the year being ſpent, the whole would paſs without any Prætors at all, if a liberty of impeaching

[y] Cujus miniſterii gratia Senatus relationem interponi jubebat, ut Prætoriis Comitiis extra ordinem ratio ejus haberetur. Sed ipſe id fieri paſſus non eſt. Val. Max. 4. 1. Plutar. in Cato.

[z] Proxima dementiæ ſuffragia—quoniam quem honorem *Catoni* negaverunt, *Vatinio* dare coacti ſunt. Val. Max. 7. 5. Plut. in Pomp.

peaching was allowed: *from this moment*, ſays Cicero, *they have given the excluſion to* Cato; *and, being maſters of all, reſolve that all the world ſhall know it* [*a*]. A. Urb. 698. Cic. 52. Coſſ. Cn. Pompeius Magnus II. M. Licinius Crassus II.

Cicero's *Palatin houſe*, and the adjoining *Portico of* Catulus were now finiſhed; *and as he and his brother were the Curators likewiſe of the repairs of the Temple of Tullus* [*b*], ſo they ſeem to have provided ſome Inſcriptions for theſe buildings in honor and memory of themſelves: but ſince no public Inſcriptions could be ſet up, unleſs by public authority, they were apprehenſive of an oppoſition from Clodius. Cicero mentioned the caſe to Pompey, who promiſed his aſſiſtance, but adviſed him to talk alſo with Craſſus, which he took occaſion to do, as he attended him home one day from the Senate. Craſſus readily undertook the affair, and told him, *that Clodius had a point to carry for himſelf, by Pompey's help and his, and that if Cicero would not oppoſe Clodius, he was perſuaded that Clodius would not diſturb him; to which Cicero conſented.* Clodius's buſineſs was to procure one of thoſe *free or honorary Lieutenancies, that he might go with a public character to Byzantium, and King Brogitarus*, to gather the money, which they owed him for paſt ſervices. *As it is a mere money matter*, ſays Cicero, *I ſhall not concern myſelf about it, whether I gain my own point or not, though Pompey and Craſ-*

[*a*] A. D. III. id. Maii S. C. factum eſt de ambitu in Afranii ſententiam.—— Sed magno cum gemitu Senatus. Conſules non ſunt perſecuti eorum ſententias: qui Afranio cum eſſent aſſenſi addiderunt, ut Prætores ita crearentur, ut dies LX. privati eſſent. Eo die Catonem plane repudiarunt. Quid multa? Tenent omnia, idque ita omnes intelligere volunt. Ad Quint. 2. 9.

[*b*] Quod Ædes Telluris eſt curationis meæ, De Haruſp. reſp. 14.

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ſus have jointly undertaken it: but he ſeems to have obtained what he deſired, ſince, beſides the intended Inſcriptions, he mentions *a ſtatue alſo of his Brother, which he had actually erected at the Temple of Tellus* [c].

TREBONIUS, one of the Tribuns, in the intereſt of the Triumvirate, publiſhed a law, *for the aſſignment of Provinces to the Conſuls for the term of five years: to Pompey,* Spain *and* Afric; *to Craſſus,* Syria, *and the Parthian war, with a power of raiſing what forces they thought fit: and that Cæſar's commiſſion ſhould be renewed alſo for five years more.* The law was oppoſed by the generality of the Senate; and, above all, *by Cato, Favonius, and two of the Tribuns, C. Ateius Capito and P. Aquilius Gallus:* but the ſuperior force of the Conſuls and the other Tribuns prevailed, and cleared the Forum by violence of all their opponents.

THE law no ſooner paſſed, than Craſſus began to prepare for his Eaſtern expedition; and was in ſuch haſt to ſet forward, that he left *Rome* above two months before the expiration of his Conſulſhip: his eagerneſs to involve the Republic in a deſperate war, for which *the Parthians* had given no pretext, was generally deteſted by the City: *the*

[c] Multa nocte cum Vibullio veni ad Pompeium. Cumque ego egiſſem de iſtis operibus & inſcriptionibus, per mihi benigne reſpondit. —Cum Craſſo ſe dixit loqui velle, mihique, ut idem facerem ſuaſit. Craſſum Conſulem ex Senatu domum reduxi: ſuſcepit rem, dixitque eſſe quod Clodius hoc tempore cuperet ſe, & per Pompeium conſequi. Putare ſe, ſi ego eum non impedirem, poſſe me adipiſci ſine contentione quod vellum—&c. Ad Quint. 2. 9.

Reddita eſt mihi pervetus Epiſtola—— in qua de Æde Telluris, & de porticu Catuli me admones. Fit utrumque diligenter. Ad Telluris etiam tuam ſtatuam locavi. Ib. 3. 1.

Tribun Ateius declared it impious, and prohibited by all the auſpices; and denounced direful imprecations againſt it; but finding Craſſus determined to march in defiance of all religion, he waited for him at the gates of the City, *and having dreſſed up a little altar, ſtood ready with a fire and ſacrifice to devote him to deſtruction* [*d*]. *Ateius was afterwards turned out of the Senate by Appius, when he was Cenſor, for falſifying the auſpices on this occaſion*; but the miſerable fate of Craſſus ſupported the credit of them; and confirmed the vulgar opinion *of the inevitable force of thoſe ancient rites, in drawing down the divine vengeance on all, who preſumed to contemn them* [*e*]. Appius was one of *the Augurs:* and the onely one of the College, who maintained *the truth of their auguries, and the reality of divination*; *for which he was laughed at by the reſt*; who charged him alſo with an abſurdity, in the reaſon, which he ſubſcribed, for his Cenſure upon Ateius, *viz. that he had falſified the auſpices, and brought a great calamity on the Roman people: for if the auſpices, they ſaid, were falſe, they could not poſſibly have any effect, or be the cauſe of that calamity* [*f*]. But though they were undoubtedly forged, it is certain, however, that they had a real influence on the overthrow of

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[*d*] Dio. l. 39. p. 109. Plut. in Craſſ.

[*e*] M. Craſſo quid acciderit, videmus, dirarum obnunciatione neglecta. De Divin. 1. 16.

[*f*] Solus enim multorum annorum memoria, non decantandi Augurii, ſed divinandi tenuit diſciplinam: quem irridebant Collegæ tui, eumque tum Piſidam, tum Soranum Augurem eſſe dicebant. Quibus nulla videbatur in Auguriis aut Auſpiciis præſentio. Ib. 47.

In quo Appius, bonus Augur—non ſatis ſcienter—Civem egregium, Ateium, cenſor notavit, quod ementitum auſpicia ſubſcripſerit. —Quæ ſi falſa fuiſſet nullam adferre potuiſſet cauſam calamitatis. Ib. 16.

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Craſſus; for the terror of them had deeply poſſeſſed the minds of the ſoldiers, and made them turn every thing which they ſaw, or heard, *to an omen of their ruin*; ſo that when the enemy appeared in ſight, they were ſtruck with ſuch a panic, that they had not courage or ſpirit enough left to make a tolerable reſiſtance.

CRASSUS was deſirous, before he left *Rome*, to be reconciled to Cicero: they had never been real friends, but generally oppoſite in party; and Cicero's early engagements with Pompey kept him of courſe at a diſtance from Craſſus: their coldneſs was ſtill encreaſed on account of Catiline's *plot*, of which Craſſus was ſtrongly ſuſpected; and charged Cicero with being the author of that ſuſpicion: they carried it however on both ſides with much decency; out of regard to Craſſus's ſon, Publius, a profeſſed admirer and diſciple of Cicero; till an accidental debate in the Senate blew up their ſecret grudge into an open quarrel. The debate was upon Gabinius, whom Craſſus undertook to defend, with many ſevere reflections upon Cicero; who replied with no leſs acrimony, and gave a free vent *to that old reſentment of Craſſus's many injuries, which had been gathering*, he ſays, *ſeveral years, but lain dormant ſo long, that he took it to be extinguiſhed, till, from this accident, it burſt out into a flame.* The quarrel gave great joy to the chiefs of the Senate; who highly applauded Cicero, in hopes to embroil him with *the Triumvirate:* but Pompey labored hard to make it up, and Cæſar alſo by letter expreſſed his uneaſineſs upon it; and begged it of Cicero, as a favor, to be reconciled with Craſſus: ſo that he could not hold out againſt an interceſſion ſo powerfull, and ſo well enforced by his affection *to young Craſſus:* their reconciliation was confirmed

confirmed by mutual profeſſions of a ſincere friendſhip for the future; and Craſſus, *to give a public teſtimony of it to the City, invited himſelf, juſt before his departure, to ſup with Cicero; who entertained him in the gardens of his ſon-in-law, Craſſipes* [g]. Theſe gardens were upon *the banks of the Tiber*, and ſeem to have been famous for their beauty and ſituation [h]: and are the only proof, which we meet with, of the ſplendid fortunes and condition of Craſſipes.

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CICERO ſpent a great part of the ſummer in the country, in ſtudy and retreat; *pleaſed*, he ſays, *that he was out of the way of thoſe ſquabbles, where he muſt either have defended what he did not approve, or deſerted the man whom he ought not to forſake* [i]. In this retirement, he put the laſt hand to his Piece, *on the Complete Orator*, which he ſent to Atticus, and promiſes alſo to ſend to Lentulus; telling him, *that he had intermitted his old taſk of orations, and betaken himſelf to the milder*

[g] Repentinam ejus Gabinii defenſionem——Si ſine ulla mea contumelia ſuſcepiſſet, tuliſſem: ſed cum me diſputantem, non laceſſentem læſiſſet, exarſi non ſolum præſenti, credo, iracundia (nam ea tam vehemens fortaſſe non fuiſſet) ſed cum incluſum illud odium multarum ejus in me injuriarum, quod ego effudiſſe me omne arbitrabar, reſiduum tamen inſciente me fuiſſet, omne repente apparuit — Cumque Pompeius ita contendiſſet, ut nihil unquam magis, ut cum Craſſo redirem in gratiam; Cæſarque per literas maxima ſe moleſtia ex illa contentione affectum oſtenderet: habui non temporum ſolum meorum rationem, ſed etiam naturæ. Craſſuſque ut quaſi teſtata populo Rom. eſſet noſtra gratia, pæne a meis laribus in provinciam eſt profectus. Nam cum mihi condixiſſet, cœnavit apud me in mei Generi Craſſipedis hortis. —— Ep. Fam. 1. 9.

[h] Ad Quint. 3. 7. Ad Att. 4. 12.

[i] Ego afuiſſe me in altercationibus, quas in Senatu factas audio, fero non moleſte; nam aut defendiſſem quod non placeret, aut defuiſſem cui non oporteret. Ad Att. 4. 13.

and

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and gentler ſtudies; in which he had finiſhed, to his ſatisfaction, three books, by way of dialogue, on the ſubject of the Orator, in Ariſtotle's manner; which would be of uſe to his ſon, young Lentulus, being drawn, not in the ordinary way of the ſchools, and the dry method of precepts, but comprehending all that the ancients, and eſpecially Ariſtotle and Iſocrates, had taught on the Inſtitution of an Orator [*k*].

THE three books contain as many Dialogues, *upon the character and Idea of the perfect Orator:* the principal ſpeakers were P. Craſſus, and M. Antonius; perſons of the firſt dignity in the Republic, and the greateſt Maſters of Eloquence, which *Rome* had then known: they were near *forty years older than Cicero, and the firſt* Romans *who could pretend to diſpute the prize of Oratory with the Greeks; and who carried the Latin tongue to a degree of perfection, which left little or no room for any farther improvement* [*l*]. The diſputation was undertaken *at the deſire, and for the inſtruc-*

[*k*] Scripſi etiam, (nam ab orationibus dijungo me fere, referoque ad manſuetiores muſas) reſcripſi igitur Ariſtoteleo more, quemadmodum quidem volui, tres libros in diſputatione & dialogo de Oratore, quos arbitror Lentulo tuo non fore inutiles. Abhorrent enim a communibus præceptis: ac omnem antiquarum, & Ariſtoteleam & Iſocrateam rationem Oratoriam complectantur. Ep. Fam. 1. 9.

[*l*] Craſſus —— quatuor & triginta tum habebat annos, totidemque annis mihi ætate præſtabat—Triennio ipſo minor quam Antonius, quod idcirco poſui, ut dicendi latine prima maturitas qua ætate extitiſſet, poſſet notari; & intelligeretur, jam ad ſummum pæne eſſe perductam, ut eo nihil ferme quiſquam addere poſſet, niſi qui a Philoſophia, a jure civili, ab hiſtoria fuiſſet inſtructior. Brut. 275.

Nunc ad Antonium, Craſſumque pervenimus. Nam ego ſic exiſtimo hos Oratores fuiſſe maximos: & in his primum cum Græcorum gloria latine dicendi copiam æquatam. Ib. 250.

tion

tion of two young Orators of great hopes, C. Cotta and P. Sulpicius, who were then beginning to floriſh at the Bar: *Cicero himſelf was not preſent at it, but being informed by Cotta, of the principal heads and general argument of the whole, ſupplied the reſt from his own invention, agreeably to the different ſtile and manner, which thoſe great men were known to purſue; and with deſign to do honour to the memory of them both, but eſpecially of Craſſus, who had been the director of his early ſtudies*; and to whom he aſſigns the defence of that notion, which he himſelf always entertained, of the character of a conſummate Speaker [*m*]. A. Urb. 698. Cic. 52. Coſſ. Cn. Pompeius Magnus II. M. Licinius Craſſus II.

Atticus was excedingly pleaſed with this treatiſe, and commended it to the ſkies; but objected to the propriety *of diſmiſſing Scævola from the diſputation, after he had once been introduced into the firſt dialogue.* Cicero defends himſelf by the example *of their God,* Plato as he calls him, in his book on Government; where the Scene being laid in the houſe of an old Gentleman, Cephalus, *the old man, after bearing a part in the firſt converſation, excuſes himſelf, that he muſt go to prayers, and returns no more; Plato not thinking it ſuitable to the character of his age, to be detained in the Company through ſo long a diſcourſe: that, with greater reaſon therefore, he had uſed the ſame caution in the caſe of Scævola; ſince it was not decent to ſuppoſe a perſon of his dignity, extreme age,*

[*m*] Nos enim, qui ipſi ſermoni non interfuiſſemus, & quibus C. Cotta tantummodo locos, ac ſententias hujus diſputationis tradidiſſet, quo in genere orationis utrumque Oratorem cognoveramus, id ipſum ſumus in eorum ſermone adumbrare conati——De Orat. 3. 4.

Ut ei, (Craſſo) & ſi nequaquam parem illius ingenio, at pro noſtro tamen ſtudio meritam gratiam debitamque referamus—Ibid.——

and

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and infirm health, ſpending ſeveral days ſucceſſively in another man's houſe: that the firſt day's dialogue related to his particular profeſſion, but the other two turned chiefly on the rules and precepts of the art, where it was not proper for one of Scævola's temper and character to aſſiſt onely as a hearer [*n*]. This admirable work remains intire, a ſtanding monument of Cicero's parts and abilities; which, while it exhibits to us the Idea of a perfect Orator, and marks out the way, by which Cicero formed himſelf to that character, it explanes the reaſon likewiſe why no body has ſince equalled him, or ever will, till there be found again united, what will hardly be found ſingle in any man, *the ſame induſtry, and the ſame parts*.

CICERO returned to *Rome*, about the middle of November, to aſſiſt at Milo's wedding, who married Fauſta, a rich and noble Lady, the daughter *of Sylla the Dictator* [*o*]; with whom, as ſome writers ſay, he found Salluſt *the Hiſtorian in bed not long after, and had him ſoundly laſhed, before he diſmiſſed him.* The Conſuls, Pompey and Craſſus, having reaped all the fruit, which they had propoſed from the Conſulſhip, *of ſecuring to themſelves the Provinces, which they wanted*, were not much concerned about the choice of their ſucceſſors; ſo that after poſtponing the election to the end of the year, they gave way at laſt to their enemy, L. Domitius Ahenobarbus; being content to have joined with him their friend, Appius Claudius Pulcher.

[*n*] Quod in iis libris, quos laudas, perſonam deſideras Scævolæ. Non eam temere dimovi; ſed feci idem, quod in πολιτείᾳ Deus ille noſter, Plato. Cum in Piræeum Socrates veniſſet ad Cephalum, locupletem & feſtivum ſenem, quoad primus ille ſermo haberetur ad eſt in diſputando Senex—&c. Ad Att. 4. 16.

[*o*] Ad Att. 4. 13. 5. 8.

As

As ſoon as the new year came on, Craſſus's enemies began to attack him in the Senate: their deſign was to revoke his commiſſion, or abridge it at leaſt of the power *of making war upon the Parthians:* but Cicero exerted himſelf ſo ſtrenuouſly in his defence, that he baffled their attempts, after a warm conteſt with *the Conſuls themſelves, and ſeveral of the Conſular Senators.* He gave Craſſus an account of the debate by letter, in which he tells him, *that he had given proof, not onely to his friends and family, but to the whole City, of the ſincerity of his reconciliation; and aſſures him of his reſolution to ſerve him, with all his pains, advice, authority, and intereſt, in every thing great or ſmall, which concerned himſelf, his friends, or clients; and bids him look upon that Letter as a league of amity, which on his part ſhould be inviolably obſerved* [p]. A. Urb. 699. Cic 53. Coſſ. L. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS, A. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

THE month of February being generally employed in *giving audience to foreign Princes and Embaſſadors, Antiochus, King of* Comagene, *a territory on the banks of the* Euphrates [q], preferred a petition to the Senate for ſome new honor or privilege, which was commonly decreed to Princes in alliance with the Republic: but Cicero being in a rallying humor, made the petition ſo ridiculous, *that the houſe rejected it, and at his motion, reſerved likewiſe out of his juriſdiction one of his principal Towns,* Zeugma; *in which was the chief bridge and paſſage over the* Euphrates. Cæſar, in his Conſulſhip, *had granted to this King the honour of the Prætexta, or the robe of the Roman Magiſtrates;* which was always diſagree-

[p] Has literas velim exiſtimes fœderis habituras eſſe vim, non epiſtolæ; meque ea, quæ tibi promitto ac recipio, ſanctiſſime eſſe obſervaturum—Ep. Fam. 5. 8.

[q] Ep. Fam. 15. 1, 3, 4.

able

A. Urb. 699. Cic. 53. Coſſ. L. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS, A. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

able to the nobility, who did not care to ſee theſe petty Princes put upon the ſame rank with themſelves; ſo that Cicero, *calling out upon the nobles, will you*, ſays he, *who refuſed the Prætexta to the King of* Boſtra, *ſuffer this* Comagenian *to ſtrut in purple!* But this diſappointment was not more mortifying to the King, than it was to the Conſuls, whoſe beſt perquiſites were drawn from theſe compliments, which were always repaid by rich preſents; *ſo that Appius, who had been lately reconciled to Cicero, and paid a particular court to him at this time, applied to him by Atticus, and their common friends, to ſuffer the petitions of this ſort to paſs quietly, nor deſtroy the uſual harveſt of the month, and make it quite barren to him* [r].

CICERO made an excurſion this ſpring to viſit his ſeveral ſeats and eſtates in the country; and, in his *Cuman Villa*, began *a Treatiſe on politics; or on the beſt ſtate of a City, and the duties of a Citizen:* he calls it *a great and laborious work, yet worthy of his pains, if he could ſuccede in it; if not, I ſhall throw it*, ſays he, *into that ſea, which is now before me, and attempt ſomething elſe, ſince it is impoſſible for me to be idle.* It was drawn up in the form of *a dialogue*, in which the greateſt perſons of the old Republic were intro-

[r] De Comageno Rege, quod rem totam diſcuſſeram, mihi & per ſe & per Pomponium blanditur Appius. Videt enim, ſi hoc genere dicendi utar in cæteris, Februarium ſterilem futurum. Eumque luſi jocoſe ſatis: neque ſolum illud extorſi oppidulum, quod erat poſitum in Euphrate, Zeugma; ſed præterea togam ejus prætextam, quam erat adeptus Cæſare Conſule, magno hominum riſu cavillatus——Vos autem homines nobiles, qui Boſtrenum Prætextatum non ferebatis, Comagenum feretis?—Multa dixi in ignobilem Regem, quibus totus eſt explosus. Quo genere commotus Appius totum me amplexatur. Ad Quint. 2. 12.

duced,

duced, debating on the origin and beſt conſtitution of government; Scipio, Lælius, Philus, Manilius, &c. [s]. The whole was to be diſtributed into nine books, each of them the ſubject of one day's diſputation: when he had finiſhed the two firſt, they were read in *his Tuſculan Villa* to ſome of his friends; where Salluſt, who was one of the company, adviſed him to change his plan, and treat the ſubject *in his own perſon, as Ariſtotle had done before him; alledging, that the introduction of thoſe ancients, inſtead of adding gravity, gave an air of Romance to the argument, which would have the greater weight, when delivered from himſelf; as being the work, not of a little Sophiſt, or contemplative Theoriſt, but of a Conſular Senator, and Stateſman, converſant in the greateſt affairs, and writing what his own practice, and the experience of many years, had taught him to be true.* Theſe reaſons ſeemed very plauſible, and made him think of altering his ſcheme; eſpecially ſince, by throwing the ſcene ſo far back, he precluded himſelf from touching on thoſe important revolutions of the Republic, which were later than the period, to which he confined himſelf: but, after ſome deliberation, being unwilling to throw away *the two books*, already finiſhed, with which he was much pleaſed, he reſolved to ſtick to the old plan, and as he had

A. Urb. 699. Cic. 53. Conſ. L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, A. Clardius Pulcher.

[s] Scribebam illa, quæ dixeram πολιτικὰ, ſpiſſum ſane opus & operoſum: ſed ſi ex ſententia ſucceſſerit, bene erit opera poſita; ſin minus, in illud ipſum mare dejiciemus, quod ſcribentes ſpectamus; aggrediemur alia, quoniam quieſcere non poſſumus. Ib. 14.

Hanc ego, quam inſtitui, de Repub. diſputationem in Africani perſonam & Phili, & Lælii & Manilii contuli, &c.—Rem, quod te non fugit, magnam complexus ſum & gravem, & plurimi otii, quod ego maxime egeo. Ad Att. 4. 16.

preferred

A. Urb. 699. Cic. 53. Coſſ. L. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS, A. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

preferred it from the firſt, *for the ſake of avoiding offence*, ſo he purſued it without any other alteration, than that of reducing the number of books from *nine to ſix*; in which form they were afterwards publiſhed, and ſurvived him for ſeveral ages, though now unfortunately loſt [*t*].

FROM the fragments of this work, which ſtill remain, it appears to have been a noble performance, and one of his capital pieces; where all the important queſtions in politics and morality were diſcuſſed with the greateſt elegance and accuracy; *of the origin of Society*; *the nature of law and obligation*; *the eternal difference of right and wrong*; *of juſtice being the onely good policy, or foundation either of public or private proſperity*: ſo that he calls *his ſix books, ſo many pledges, given to the public, for the integrity of his conduct* [*u*]. The younger Scipio was the principal ſpeaker of the Dialogue, whoſe part it was *to aſſert the*

[*t*] Sermo autem in novem & dies & libros diſtributus de optimo ſtatu civitatis & de optimo cive.—Hi libri, cum in Tuſculano mihi legerentur, audiente Salluſtio; admonitus ſum ab illo, multo majore auctoritate illis de rebus dici poſſe, ſi ipſe loquerer de Repub. preſertim cum eſſem, non Heraclides Ponticus, ſed conſularis, & is, qui in maximis verſatus in Repub. rebus eſſem: quæ tam antiquis hominibus attribuerem, ea viſum iri ficta eſſe.—Commovit me, & eo magis, quod maximos motus noſtræ civitatis attingere non poteram, quod erant inferiores, quam illorum ætas qui loquebantur. Ego autem id ipſum tum eram ſecutus, ne in noſtra tempora incurrens offenderem quempiam. Ad Quint. 3. 5.

This will ſolve that variation which we find in his own account of this work, in different parts of his writings: and why Fannius, who in ſome places is declared to be a ſpeaker in it, [Ad Att. 4. 16. Ad Quint. 3. 5.] is denied to be ſo in others; being dropt, when the number of books was contracted.

[*u*] Cum ſex libris, tanquam prædibus me ipſum obſtrinxerim, quos tibi tam valde probari gaudeo. Ad Att. 6. 1.

excellence

excellence of the Roman conſtitution, preferably to that of all other ſtates [x]: who, in the ſixth book, under *the fiction of a dream*, which is ſtill preſerved to us, takes occaſion to inculcate *the doctrine of the immortality of the ſoul, and a future ſtate*, in a manner ſo lively and entertaining, that it has been the ſtanding pattern ever ſince to the wits of ſucceeding ages, for attempting the ſame method of inſtilling moral leſſons, in the form of dreams or viſions. A. Urb. 699. Cic. 53. Coſſ. L. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS, A. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

HE was now drawn at laſt into a particular intimacy and correſpondence of Letters with Cæſar; who had long been endeavouring to engage him to his friendſhip, and, with that view, had invited *his brother*, Quintus, to be one of *his Lieutenants in Gaul*; where Quintus, to pay his court the better to his General, joined heartily in preſſing his Brother *to an union with him*, inſtead of adhering ſo obſtinately *to Pompey, who*, as he tells him, *was neither ſo ſincere, nor ſo generous a friend as Cæſar* [y]. Cicero did not diſlike the advice, and expreſſed a readineſs to comply with it, of which Balbus gave an intimation to Cæſar, with *a Letter, alſo incloſed, from Cicero himſelf*; but the packet happening to fall into water, the Letters were all deſtroyed, except *a ſcrap or two of Balbus's*, to which Cæſar returned anſwer; *I perceive, that you had written ſomewhat about Cicero, which I could not make out; but as far as I can gueſs, it was ſomething rather to be wiſhed,*

[x] An cenſes, cum in illis de Repub. libris perſuadere videatur Africanus, omnium Rerumpub. noſtram veterem illam fuiſſe optimam.—De Leg. 2. x. vid. ib. 1. 6. 9.

[y] De Pompeio aſſentior tibi, vel tu potius mihi, nam, ut ſcis, jampridem, iſtum canto Cæſarem. Ad Quint. 2. 13.

A. Urb. 699. Cic. 53. Coſſ. L. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS, A. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

than hoped for [z]. But Cicero ſent another copy of the ſame Letter, which came ſafe to his hands, written, as he ſays, *in the familiar ſtile, yet without departing from his dignity.* Cæſar anſwered him with all imaginable kindneſs, and the offer of every thing, in which his power could ſerve him, telling him, *how agreeable his Brother's company was to him, by the revival of their old affection; and ſince he was now removed to ſuch a diſtance from him, he would take care, that in their mutual want of each other, he ſhould have cauſe at leaſt to rejoice, that his Brother was with him rather than any one elſe. He thanks him alſo for ſending the Lawyer Trebatius to him, and ſays upon it jocoſely, that there was not a man before in his army, who knew how to draw a recognizance.* Cicero, in his account of this Letter to his Brother, ſays; "it is kind in you, and like a Brother, "to preſs me to this friendſhip, though I am "running that way apace myſelf, and ſhall do, "what often happens to travellers, who riſing "later than they intended, yet, by quickening "their ſpeed, come ſooner to their journey's "end, than if they had ſet our earlier; ſo I, "who have over-ſlept myſelf in my obſervance "of this man, though you were frequently rouſ-"ing me, will correct my paſt lazineſs by mend-"ing my pace for the future."——But as to his

[z] Ille ſcripſit ad Balbum, faſciculum illum Epiſtolarum, in quo fuerat & mea & Balbi, totum ſibi aqua madidum eſſe: ut ne illud quidem ſciat, meam fuiſſe aliquam epiſtolam. Sed ex Balbi epiſtola pauca verba intellexerat, ad quæ reſcripſit his verbis. De Cicerone video te quiddam ſcripſiſſe, quod ego non intellexi; quantum autem conjectura conſequebar id erat hujuſmodi, ut magis optandum, quam ſperandum putarem. Ad Quint. 2. 12.

ſeeking

ſeeking any advantage or perſonal benefit from this alliance, *believe me*, ſays he, *you who know me; I have from him already what I moſt value, the aſſurance of his affection, which I prefer to all the great things that he offers me*——[*a*]. In another letter he ſays; *I lay no great ſtreſs on his promiſes, want no farther honors, nor deſire any new glory, and wiſh nothing more, but the continuance of his eſteem, yet live ſtill in ſuch a courſe of ambition and fatigue, as if I were expecting what I do not really deſire* [*b*].

A. Urb. 699. Cic. 53. Coſſ. L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, A. Claudius Pulcher.

But though he made no uſe of Cæſar's generoſity for himſelf, yet he uſed it freely for his friends; for beſides his Brother, who was Cæſar's *Lieutenant*, and Trebatius, who was *his Lawyer*; he procured an eminent poſt for Orfius, and a Regiment for Curtius; yet Cæſar was chiding him all the while *for his reſervedneſs in*

[*a*] Cum Cæſaris Literis, refertis omni officio, diligentia, ſuavitate—Quarum initium eſt, quam ſuavis ei tuus adventus fuerit, & recordatio veteris amoris; deinde ſe effecturum, ut ego in medio dolore ac deſiderio tui, te, cum a me abeſſes, potiſſimum ſecum eſſe lætarer.—Trebatium quod ad ſe miſerim, perſalſe & humaniter etiam gratias mihi agit: negat enim in tanta multitudine eorum, qui una eſſent, quempiam fuiſſe, qui vadimonium concipere poſſet.——

Quare facis tu quidem fraterne, quod me hortaris, ſed mehercule currentem nunc quidem, ut omnia mea ſtudia in iſtum unum conferam, &c.

Sed mihi crede, quem noſti, quod in iſtis rebus ego plurimi æſtimo, jam habeo: —deinde Cæſaris tantum in me amorem, quem omnibus his honoribus, quos me a ſe expectare vult, antepono.—Ad Quint. 2. 15.

[*b*] Promiſſis iis, quæ oſtendit, non valde pendeo: nec honores ſitio, nec deſidero gloriam: magiſque ejus voluntatis perpetuitatem, quam promiſſorum exitum expecto. Vivo tamen in ea ambitione & labore, tanquam id, quod non poſtulo, expectem. lb. 3. 5.

A. Urb. 699. Cic 53. Coſſ. L. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS, A. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

aſking [c]. His recommendatory Letter of Trebatius, will ſhew both what a ſhare he poſſeſſed at this time of Cæſar's confidence, and with what an affectionate zeal he uſed to recommend his friends.

" Cicero to Cæſar Emperor.

" SEE, how I have perſuaded myſelf to conſider you as a ſecond ſelf; not onely in what affects my own intereſt, but in what concerns my friends: I had reſolved, whitherſoever I went abroad, to carry C. Trebatius along with me; that I might bring him home, adorned with the fruits of my care and kindneſs: but ſince Pompey's ſtay in *Rome* has been longer than I expected, and my own irreſolution, to which you are no ſtranger, will either wholly hinder, or at leaſt retard, my going abroad at all; ſee, what I have taken upon myſelf: I began preſently to reſolve, that Trebatius ſhould expect the ſame things from you, which he had been hoping for from me; nor did I aſſure him with leſs frankneſs of your good will, than I uſed to do of my own: but a wonderfull incident fell out, both as a teſtimony of my opinion, and a pledge of your humanity; for while I was talking of this very Trebatius at my houſe, with our friend Balbus, your Letter was delivered to me; in the end of which you ſaid; *as to M. Orfius, whom you recommended to me, I will make him even King of* Gaul, *or Lieutenant to* Lepta; *ſend*

[c] M. Curtio Tribunatum ab eo petivi. — Ib. 2. 15. Ep. Fam. 7. 5.
De Tribunatu — mihi ipſe Cæſar nominatim Curtio paratum eſſe reſcripſit, meamque in rogando verecundiam objurgavit. Ad Quin. 3. 1.

" *me*

" *me another therefore, if you pleaſe, whom I may* A. Urb. 699.
" *prefer.* We lifted up our hands, both I and Cic. 53.
" Balbus; the occaſion was ſo pat, that it ſeem- Coſſ.
" ed not to be accidental, but divine. I ſend L. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS,
" you therefore Trebatius; and ſend him ſo, as A. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.
" at firſt indeed I deſigned, of my own accord,
" but now alſo by your invitation: embrace him,
" my dear Cæſar, with all your uſual courteſy;
" and whatever you could be induced to do for
" my friends, out of your regard to me, confer
" it all ſingly upon him. I will be anſwerable
" for the man; not in my former ſtile, which
" you juſtly rallied, when I wrote to you about
" Milo, but in the true Roman phraſe, which
" men of ſenſe uſe; that there is not an *honeſter*,
" *worthier*, *modeſter man living*: I muſt add,
" what makes the principal part of his character,
" that he has a ſingular memory, and perfect
" knowledge of the civil Law. I aſk for him,
" neither a Regiment nor Government, nor any
" certain piece of preferment; I aſk your bene-
" volence and generoſity; yet am not againſt
" the adorning him, whenever you ſhall think
" proper, with thoſe trappings alſo of glory: in
" ſhort, I deliver the whole man to you, from
" my hand, as we ſay, into yours, illuſtrious
" for victory and faith. But I am more impor-
" tunate than I need be to you; yet I know
" you will excuſe it. Take care of your health,
" and continue to love me, as you now do [*d*]."

TREBATIUS was of a lazy, indolent, ſtudious temper; a lover of books and good company; eagerly fond of the pleaſures of *Rome*; and wholly out of his element in a Camp: and becauſe Cæſar, through the infinite hurry of his

[*d*] Ep. Fam. 7. 5.

A. Urb. 699. Cic. 53. Coſſ. L. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS, A. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

affairs, could not preſently admit him to his familiarity, and prefer him ſo ſoon as he expected, he was tired of the drudgery of attending him, and impatient to be at home again. Under theſe circumſtances, there is a ſeries of Letters to him from Cicero, written not onely with the diſintereſted affection of a friend, but the ſollicitude even of a parent, employing all the arts of inſinuation, as well of the grave, as of the facetious kind, to hinder him from ruining his hopes and fortunes by his own imprudence. "He laughs at "his childiſh hankering after the City; bids him "reflect on the end, for which he went abroad, "and purſue it with conſtancy; obſerves from "*the Medea of Euripides*, that many had ſerved "themſelves and the public well, at a diſtance "from their Country; whilſt others, by ſpending "their lives at home, had lived and died "ingloriouſly; of which number, *ſays he*, you "would have been one, if we had not thruſt you "out; and ſince I am now acting *Medea*, take "this other leſſon from me, *that he, who is not "wiſe for himſelf, is wiſe to no purpoſe* [*e*]." He rallies his impatience, or rather "imprudence; "as if he had carried a bond, not a Letter to "Cæſar, and thought that he had nothing to "do but to take his money, and return home;

[*e*] Tu modo ineptias iſtas & deſideria urbis & urbanitatis depone: & quo conſilio profectus es, id aſſiduitate & virtute conſequere.—

Nam multi ſuam rem bene geſſere & poplicam, patria procul.
Multi, quei domi ætatem agerent, propterea ſunt improbati.

Quo in numero tu certe fuiſſes, niſi te extruſiſſemus— & quando Medeam agere cœpi, illud ſemper memento, qui ipſe ſibi ſapiens prodeſſe non quit, nequicquam ſapit. Ep. Fam. 7. 6.

"not

" not recollecting, that even thoſe, who follow- A. Urb. 699.
" ed King Ptolemy with bonds to *Alexandria*, Cic. 53.
" had not yet brought back a penny of mo- Coſſ.
" ney [*f*]. You write me word, *ſays he*, that L. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS,
" Cæſar now conſults you; I had rather hear, A. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.
" that he conſults your Intereſt [*g*]. Let me
" die, if I do not believe, ſuch is your vanity,
" that you had rather be conſulted, than enrich-
" ed by him [*h*]." By theſe railleries and perpetual admonitions he made Trebatius aſhamed of his ſoftneſs, and content to ſtay with Cæſar, by whoſe favor and generoſity he was cured at laſt of all his uneaſineſs; and having here laid the foundation of his fortunes, floriſhed afterwards in the court of Auguſtus, with the character of the moſt learned Lawyer of that age [*i*].

CÆSAR was now upon his ſecond expedition into *Britain*; which raiſed much talk and expectation at *Rome*, and gave Cicero *no ſmall concern* for the ſafety of his Brother, who, as one *of Cæſar's Lieutenants*, was to bear a conſiderable part in it [*k*]. But the accounts which he received from the place, ſoon eaſed him of his apprehenſions, by informing him, *that there was nothing either to fear or to hope from the attempt*;

[*f*] Subimprudens videbare; tanquam enim ſyngrapham ad Imperatorem, non epiſtolam attuliſſes, ſic, pecunia ablata, domum redire properabas. Nec tibi in mentem veniebat, eos ipſos, qui cum ſyngraphis veniſſent Alexandriam, nummum adhuc nullum auferre potuiſſe. Ib. 17.

[*g*] Conſuli quidem te a Cæſare ſcribis; ſed ego tibi ab illo conſuli vellem.—— Ib. xi.

[*h*] Moriar, ni, quæ tua gloria eſt, puto te malle a Cæſare conſuli, quam inaurari. Ib. 13.

[*i*]—Niſi quid tu, docte Trebati
Diſſentis.—Hor. Sat. 2. 1. 79.

[*k*] Ex Quinti fratris literis ſuſpicor jam eum eſſe in Britannia: ſuſpenſo animo expecto quid agat. Ad Att. 4. 15.

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no danger from the people, no ſpoils from the Country [*l*]. In a Letter to Atticus, *we are in ſuſpenſe*, ſays he, *about the Britiſh war: it is certain, that the acceſs of the Iſland is ſtrongly fortified; and it is known alſo already, that there is not a grain of ſilver in it, nor any thing elſe but ſlaves; of whom you will ſcarce expect any, I dare ſay, ſkilled in muſic or Letters* [*m*]. In another to Trebatius; *I hear, that there is not either gold or ſilver in the Iſland: if ſo, you have nothing to do but to take one of their chariots, and fly back to us* [*n*].

FROM their railleries of this kind on *the barbarity and miſery of our Iſland*, one cannot help reflecting on the ſurpriſing fate and revolutions of Kingdoms: how *Rome*, once the miſtreſs of the world, the ſeat of arts, empire and glory, now lies ſunk in ſloth, ignorance, and poverty; enſlaved to the moſt cruel, as well as to the moſt contemptible of Tyrants, *Superſtition and religious Impoſture:* while this remote Country, anciently the jeſt and contempt of *the polite Romans*, is become the happy ſeat of liberty, plenty, and letters; flouriſhing in all the arts and refinements of civil life; yet running perhaps the ſame courſe, which *Rome* itſelf had run before it;

[*l*] O jucundas mihi tuas de Britannia literas! Timebam oceanum, timebam littus Inſulæ. Reliqua non equidem contemno.——Ad Quint. 1. 16.

De Britannicis rebus cognovi ex tuis literis, nihil eſſe nec quod metuamus, nec quod gaudeamus. Ib. 3 1.

[*m*] Britannici belli exitus expectatur. Conſtat enim aditus inſulæ munitos eſſe mirificis molibus. Etiam illud jam cognitum eſt, neque argenti ſcripulum eſſe ullum in illa inſula, neque ullam ſpem prædæ, niſi ex mancipiis; ex quibus nullos puto te literis, aut muſicis eruditos expectare. Ad Att. 4. 16.

[*n*] In Britannia nihil eſſe audio neque auri neque argenti. Id ſi ita eſt, eſſedum aliquod ſuadeo capias, & ad nos quam primum recurras. Ep. Fam. 7. 7.

from

from virtuous induſtry to wealth; from wealth to luxury; from luxury to an impatience of diſcipline, and corruption of morals; till by a total degeneracy and loſs of virtue, being grown ripe for deſtruction, it falls a prey at laſt to ſome hardy oppreſſor, and, with the loſs of liberty, loſing every thing elſe that is valuable, ſinks gradually again into its original barbariſm. A. Urb. 699. Cic. 53. Coſſ. L. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS, A. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

CICERO taking it for granted, that Trebatius followed Cæſar *into Britain*, began to joke with him upon *the wonderfull figure that a Britiſh Lawyer would make at* Rome; *and, as it was his profeſſion to guard other people's ſafety, bids him beware that he himſelf was not caught by the Britiſh charioteers* [*o*]. But Trebatius, it ſeems, knew how to take care of himſelf without Cicero's advice; and when Cæſar paſſed over to *Britain*, choſe to ſtay behind in *Gaul:* this gave a freſh handle for raillery; and Cicero *congratulates him*, "upon being arrived at laſt into a country, "where he was thought to know ſomething; "that if he had gone over alſo to *Britain*, there "would not have been a man in all that great "Iſland, wiſer than himſelf.—" He obſerves, "that he was much more cautious in military, "than in civil conteſts; and wonders, that be- "ing ſuch *a lover of ſwimming*, he could not be "perſuaded to *ſwim* in the Ocean; and when "he could not be kept away from every ſhew "of Gladiators at *Rome*, had not the curioſity "to ſee *the Britiſh charioteers:* he rejoices how- "ever, after all, that he did not go; ſince they

[*o*] Mira enim perſona induci poteſt Britannici Juris conſulti. Ep. Fam. 7. xi.

Tu, qui cæteris cavere dicisti, in Britannia ne ab eſſedariis decipiaris caveto. Ib. 6.

"ſhould

A. Urb. 699. Cic. 51. Coſſ. L. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS, A. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

"ſhould not now be troubled with the impertinence of his Britiſh ſtories [*p*]."

QUINTUS CICERO, who had a genius for poetry, was projecting the plan *of a poem, upon their Britiſh expedition, and begged his Brother's aſſiſtance in it:* Cicero approved the deſign, and obſerved upon it, *that the nature and ſituation of places ſo ſtrange, the manners of the people, their battles with them, and the General himſelf Cæſar, were excellent ſubjects for poetry; but as to his aſſiſtance, it was ſending owls to* Athens: *that Quintus, who had finiſhed four Tragedies in ſixteen days, could not want either help or fame in that way, after his* Electra *and* the Troades [*q*]. In other letters, he

[*p*] Eſt, quod gaudeas, te in iſta loca veniſſe, ubi aliquid ſapere viderere: quod ſi in Britanniam quoque profectus eſſes, profecto nemo in illa tanta inſula te peritior fuiſſet—Sed tu in re militari multo es cautior quam in advocationibus: qui neque in oceano *natare* voluiſti, homo *ſtudioſiſſimus natandi*, neque ſpectare eſſedarios, quem antea ne Audabatam quidem defraudare poteramus. Ib. x.

In Britanniam te profectum non eſſe gaudeo, quod & labore caruiſti, & ego te de illis rebus non audiam. Ib. 17.

The little hint here given, of Trebatius's *love of ſwimming*, adds a new light and beauty to that paſſage of Horace, where the Poet introduces him, adviſing, *to ſwim thrice croſs the Tiber*, to cure the want of ſleep; the advice, it ſeems, being peculiarly agreeable to his own practice and character.

———*ter uncti*
Tranſnanto Tiberim, ſomno quibus eſt opus alto.
Sat. 2. 1. v. 8.

[*q*] Te vero ὑπόθεσιν ſcribendi egregiam habere video. Quos tu ſitus, quas naturas rerum & locorum, quos mores, quas gentes, quas pugnas, quem vero ipſum Imperatorem habes? Ego te libenter, ut rogas, quibus rebus vis, adjuvabo, & tibi verſus, quos rogas, γλαῦκα εἰς Ἀθήνας mittam. Ad Quint. 2. 16.

Quatuor Tragœdias, cum xvi diebus abſolviſſe ſcribas, tu quidquam ab alio mutuaris? & πλέον quæris, cum Electram

he anſwers more ſeriouſly; *that it was impoſſible to conceive, how much he wanted leiſure for verſifying: that to write verſes required an eaſe and chearfullneſs of mind, which the times had taken from him; and that his poetical flame was quite extinguiſhed by the ſad proſpect of things before them* [r]. A. Urb. 699. Cic. 53. Coſſ. L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, A. Claudius Pulcher.

He had ſent Cæſar *his Greek Poem, in three books, on the hiſtory of his Conſulſhip*; and Cæſar's judgment upon it was, *that the beginning of it was as good as any thing, which he had ever ſeen in that language, but that the following lines, to a certain place, were not equal in accuracy and ſpirit.* Cicero deſires therefore to know of his Brother, *what Cæſar really thought of the whole; whether the matter or the ſtile diſpleaſed him; and begs that he would tell him the truth freely; ſince whether Cæſar liked it or not, he ſhould not*, he ſays, *be a jot the leſs pleaſed with himſelf* [s]. He began however

Electram & Troadem ſcripſeris?——Ib. 3. 6.

N. B. Theſe *four Tragedies*, ſaid to be written in *ſixteen days*, cannot be ſuppoſed to have been original productions, but tranſlations from ſome of the Greek Poets, of which Quintus was a great Maſter; finiſhed by him in haſt for the entertainment of the Camp: for the word *Troadem* in the text, the name of one of them, ſhould moſt probably be *Troades*, the title of one of Euripides's Plays; as the *Electra* alſo was.

[r] Quod me de faciendis verſibus rogas, incredibile eſt, mi frater, quantum egeam tempore—Facerem tamen ut poſſem, ſed—opus eſt ad poema quadam animi alacritate, quam plane mihi tempora eripiunt—Ib. 3. 5.

De verſibus—deeſt mihi opera, quæ non modo tempus, ſed etiam animum ab omni cura vacuum deſiderat: ſed abeſt etiam ἐνθουσιασμὸς ——&c. Ib. 4.

[s] Sed heus tu, celari videor a te, quomodonam, mi frater, de noſtris verſibus Cæſar? Nam primum librum ſe legiſſe ſcripſit ad me ante: & prima ſic, ut neget ſe ne Græca quidem meliora legiſſe; reliqua ad quendam locum βαθυμώτερα. Hoc enim utitur verbo. Dic mihi verum, num aut res eum aut

χαρακτὴρ

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ever another Poem, at his Brother's earneſt requeſt, to be addreſſed to Cæſar, but after ſome progreſs was ſo diſſatisfied with it, that he tore it [*t*]: yet Quintus ſtill urging, and ſignifying, *that he had acquainted Cæſar with the deſign*, he was obliged to reſume it, and actually finiſhed an *Epic Poem in honour of Cæſar*; *which he promiſes* to ſend as ſoon as he could find a proper conveyance, *that it might not be loſt, as Quintus's Tragedy of Erigone was in coming from* Gaul; *the onely thing*, ſays he, *which had not found a ſafe paſſage, ſince Cæſar governed that Province* [*u*].

WHILE Cicero was expreſſing no ſmall diſſatisfaction at the meaſures, which his preſent ſituation obliged him to purſue, Cæſar was doing every thing in his power, to make him eaſy: *he treated his Brother with as much kindneſs, as if Cicero himſelf had been his General*; *gave him the choice of his winter quarters, and the Legion, which he beſt liked* [*x*]: *and Clodius happening to write to him from* Rome, *he ſhewed the Letter to Quintus, and declared that he would not anſwer it*; *though*

χαραχτὴρ non delectat? Nihil eſt quod vereare. Ego enim ne pilo quidem minus me amabo.——Ib. 2. 16.

[*t*] Poema ad Cæſarem, quod compoſueram, incidi.——Ib. 3. 1. §. 4.

[*u*] Quod me inſtitutum ad illum Poema jubes perficere; etſi diſtentus tum opera, tum animo ſum multo magis, quoniam ex epiſtola, quam ad te miſeram, cognovit Cæſar me aliquid eſſe exorſum; revertar ad inſtitutum.——Ib. 8.

Quod me hortaris, ut abſolvam, habeo abſolutum ſuave, mihi quidem uti videtur, ἔπος ad Cæſarem. Sed quæro locupletem tabellarium, ne accidat quod Erigonæ tuæ; cui ſoli, Cæſare Imperatore, iter ex Gallia tutum non fuit. Ib. 9.

[*x*] Quintum meum—— Dii boni! quemadmodum tractat, honore, dignitate, gratia? Non ſecus ac ſi ego eſſem Imperator. Hibernam Legionem eligendi optio delata commodum, ut ad me ſcribit.——Ad Att 4. 18.

though Quintus civilly preſſed him not to put ſuch an affront upon Clodius for their ſakes [y]: In the midſt of all his hurry in *Britain*, he ſent frequent accounts to Cicero, in his own hand, of his progreſs and ſucceſs, and, at the inſtant of quitting the iſland, *wrote to him from the very ſhore, of the embarkment of the troops, and his having taken hoſtages, and impoſed a Tribute: and leſt he ſhould be ſurprized at having no Letters at the ſame time from his Brother*, he acquaints him, *that Quintus was then at a diſtance from him, and could not take the benefit of that expreſs:* Cicero received all *theſe Letters at* Rome, *in leſs than a month after date, and takes notice in one of them, that it arrived on the twentieth day*; a diſpatch equal to that of our preſent Couriers by the poſt [z]. A. Urb. 699. Cic. 53. Coſſ. L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, A. Claudius Pulcher.

As to the news of the City this ſummer, Cicero tells his Brother, "that there were ſome "hopes of an election of Magiſtrates, but thoſe "uncertain; ſome ſuſpicion of a Dictator, yet "that not more certain; a great calm in the "Forum; but of a City, ſeemed to be quieted "rather by the effects of age, than of concord:

[y] In qua primum eſt de Clodii ad Cæſarem literis, in quo Cæſaris conſilium probo, quod tibi amantiſſime petenti veniam non dedit, ut ullum ad illam Furiam verbum reſcriberet—Ad Quint. 3. 1. §. 4.

[z] Ab Quinto fratre & a Cæſare accepi A. D. IX. Kal. Nov. literas, confecta Britannia, obſidibus acceptis, nulla præda, imperata tamen pecunia, datas a littoribus Britanniæ, proximo A. D. VI. Kal. Octob. exercitum Britannia reportabant. Ad Att. 4. 17.

Ex Britannia Cæſar ad me Kal. Sept. dedit literas: quas ego accepi A. D. IIII. Kal. Octob. ſatis commodas de Britannicis rebus: quibus, ne admirer, quod a te nullas acceperim, ſcribit ſe ſine te fuiſſe, cum ad mare acceſſerit. Ad Quint. 3. 1. §. 7.

Cum hanc jam Epiſtolam complicarem, tabellarii a vobis venerunt ad D. XI. Kal. Sept. viceſimo die. Ib. 4. 1. §. 5.

"that

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" that his own conduct, as well in public, as in " private, was juſt what Quintus had adviſed, " ſofter than the tip of his ear; and his votes " in the Senate ſuch, as pleaſed others, rather " than himſelf.

" Such ills does wretched war and diſcord breed,

" that bribery was never carried ſo high, as at " this time, by the Conſular candidates, Mem- " mius, Domitius, Scaurus, Meſſala; that they " were all alike; no eminence in any; for mo- " ney levelled the dignity of them all: that " above eighty thouſand pounds was promiſed " to the firſt Tribe; and money grown ſo ſcarce, " by this profuſion of it, that intereſt was riſen " from four to eight per Cent [*a*]."

MEMMIUS and Cn. Domitius, who joined their intereſts, made a ſtrange ſort of contract with the Conſuls, which was drawn up in writing, and atteſted in proper form by many of their friends on both ſides; by which, " the " Conſuls obliged themſelves, to ſerve them " with all their power in the enſuing election; " and they on their part undertook, when elect- " ed, to procure for the Conſuls what Provinces

[*a*] Res Romanæ ſic ſe habebant. Erat nonnulla ſpes comitiorum, ſed incerta: erat aliqua ſuſpicio Dictaturæ, ne ea quidem certa: ſummum otium forenſe; ſed ſeneſcentis magis civitatis, quam adquieſcentis. Sententia autem noſtra in Senatu ejuſmodi, magis ut alii nobis aſſentiantur, quam noſmet ipſi.— Τοιαυθ' ὁ τλήμων πόλεμος ἐξεργάζεται. Eurip. Iketid.

Ambitus redit immanis, nunquam par fuit. Ad Quint. 2. 15.

Sequere me nunc in Campum. Ardet ambitus: σῆμα δέ τοι ἐρέω; fœnus ex triente Idib. Quint. factum erat beſſibus—ἐξοχὴ in nullo eſt, pecunia omnium dignitatem exæquat—Ad Att. 4. 15.

" they

" they desired; and gave a Bond of above 3000 *l.* to provide three Augurs, who should testify, that they were present at making a law for granting them those Provinces, when no such law had ever been made; and two Consular Senators, who should affirm, that they were present likewise at passing a decree of the Senate, for furnishing the same provinces with arms and money, when the Senate had never been consulted about it [*b*]." Memmius, *who was strongly supported by Cæsar* [*c*], finding some reason to dislike his bargain, resolved to break it, and, by Pompey's *advice, gave an account of it to the Senate.* Pompey was pleased with the opportunity of mortifying *the Consul* Domitius; and willing likewise *to take some revenge on* Appius, who, though his near relation, *did not enter so fully as he expected into his measures* [*d*]: but Cæsar *was much out of humour at this step* [*e*]; as it was likely to raise great scandal in the City, and strengthen the interest of those who were endeavouring to restrain that infamous corruption, which was the

A. Urb. 699. Cic. 53. Coss. L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, A. Claudius Pulcher.

[*b*] Consules flagrant infamia, quod C. Memmius candidatus pactionem in Senatu recitavit, quam ipse & suus competitor Domitius cum Consulibus fecissent, uti ambo H. S. quadragena Consulibus darent, si essent ipsi Consules facti, nisi tres Augures dedissent, qui se adfuisse dicerent, cum lex curiata ferretur, quæ lata non esset; & duo Consulares, qui se dicerent in ornandis provinciis consularibus scribendo affuisse, cum omnino ne Senatus quidem fuisset. Hæc pactio non verbis sed nominibus & perscriptionibus, multorum tabulis cum esse facta diceretur, prolata a Memmio est nominibus inductis, auctore Pompeio—— Ad Att. 4. 18.

[*c*] Memmium Cæsaris omnes opes confirmant—— Ib. 15. 17.

[*d*] Dio. l. 39. p. 118.

[*e*] Ut qui jam intelligebamus enunciationem illam Memmii valde Cæsari displicere—Ad Att. 4. 16.

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main inſtrument of advancing his power. Appius *never changed countenance, nor loſt any credit by the diſcovery; but his collegue Domitius*, who affected the character of a Patriot, *was extremely diſcompoſed; and Memmius, now grown deſperate, reſolved to promote the general diſorder and the creation of a Dictator* [*f*].

QUINTUS ſent his Brother word from Gaul, *that it was reported there, that he was preſent at this contract:* but Cicero aſſures him that it was falſe, and *that the bargain was of ſuch a nature, as Memmius had opened it to the Senate, that no honeſt man could have been preſent at it* [*g*]. The Senate was highly incenſed; and to check the inſolence of the parties concerned, *paſſed a decree, that their conduct ſhould be inquired into by what they called a private or ſilent judgement*; where the Sentence was not to be declared till after the election, yet ſo, as to make void the election of thoſe who ſhould be found guilty: this they reſolved to execute with rigor, and *made an allotment of Judges for that purpoſe:* but ſome of the Tribuns were prevailed with *to interpoſe their negative, on pretence of hindering all inquiſitions, not ſpecially authorized by the people* [*h*].

THIS

[*f*] Hic Appius erat idem; nihil ſane jacturæ. Corruerat alter, & plane, inquam, jacebat. Memmius autem—plane refrixerat, & eo magis nunc cogitare dictaturam, tum favere juſtitio & omnium rerum licentiæ.—— I. 18.

[*g*] Quod ſcribis te audiſſe, in Candidatorum Conſularium coitione me interfuiſſe, id falſum eſt. Ejuſmodi enim pactiones in iſta coitione factæ ſunt, quas poſtea Memmius patefecit, ut nemo bonus intereſſe debuerit—Ad Quint. 3. 1. §. 5.

[*h*] At Senatus decrevit ut tacitum judicium ante comitia fieret——Magnus timor Candidatorum. Sed quidam Judices—Tribunos pl. appellarunt, ne injuſſu populi judicarent. Res cedit, comitia dilata ex S. C. dum lex de tacito

THIS deteſtable bargain of forging laws and decrees at pleaſure, in which ſo many of the firſt rank were concerned, either as Principals or witneſſes, is alledged by an ingenious *French* writer, as a flagrant inſtance of *that Libertiniſm, which haſtened the deſtruction of* Rome [*i*]. *So far are private vices from being public benefits*, that this great Republic, of all others the moſt free and floriſhing, owed the loſs of its Liberty to nothing elſe but a general defection of its Citizens, from the probity and diſcipline of their anceſtors. Cicero often foretells their approaching ruin from this very cauſe; and, when he bewails the wretchedneſs of the times, uſually joins *the wickedneſs of their morals*, as the genuin ſource of it [*k*]. A. Urb. 699. Cic. 53. Coſſ. L. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS, A. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

BUT leſt theſe corrupt Candidates ſhould eſcape without puniſhment, they were all publicly impeached by different Proſecutors, and the City was now in a great ferment about them; *ſince*, as Cicero ſays, *either the men or the law muſt neceſſarily periſh: yet they will all*, ſays he, *be acquitted; for trials are now managed ſo corruptly, that no man will ever be condemned for the future, unleſs for murder* [*l*]. But Q. Scævola, one of

tacito judicio ferretur. Venit legi dies. Terentius interceſſit. —— Ad Att. 4. 16.

[*i*] Conſiderations ſur les cauſes de la grandeur, &c. de Romains. C. X.

[*k*] His præſertim moribus atque temporibus, quibus ita prolapſa Reſp. eſt, ut omnium opibus refrænanda, ac coercenda ſit. De Divin. 2. 2.

Qui ſit Remp. afflictam & oppreſſam miſeris temporibus, ac perditis moribus, in veterem dignitatem & libertatem vindicaturus. —— Ep. Fam. 2. 5.

[*l*] De ambitu poſtulati ſunt omnes, qui conſulatum petant — Magno res in motu eſt. Proptera quod aut hominum aut legum interitus oſtenditur — Ad Quin. 3. 2.

Sed omnes abſolventur, nec poſthac quiſquam damnabitur, niſi qui hominem occiderit. Ad Att. 4. 16.

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the Tribuns, took a more effectual way to mortify them, by reſolving to hinder any election of Conſuls during his Magiſtracy; in which he perſevered, and by his authority *diſſolved all the aſſemblies, convened for that purpoſe* [*m*]. The *Tribunician Candidates* however were remarkably modeſt this year: for they made an agreement among themſelves, which they all confirmed by an oath, "that in proſecuting their ſeveral in-"tereſts, they would ſubmit their conduct to "the judgment of Cato, and depoſit four thou-"ſand pounds apiece in his hands, to be for-"feited by thoſe, whom he ſhould condemn of "any irregular practice. If the election proves "free, *ſays Cicero*, as it is thought it will, Cato "alone can do more than all the Laws and all "the Judges [*n*]."

A great part of this year was taken up in public trials: Suffenas and C. Cato, who had been Tribuns two years before, were tried in the beginning of July, *for violence and breach of peace* in their Magiſtracy, and both acquitted: but Procilius, one of their Collegues, "was con-"demned for killing a Citizen in his own houſe: "whence we are to collect, *ſays Cicero*, that our "Areopagites value neither bribery nor elec-"tions, nor interregnums, nor attempts againſt "the State, nor the whole Republic, a ruſh: we

[*m*] Comitiorum quotidie ſinguli dies tolluntur obnunciationibus, magna voluntate bonorum—Ad Quin. 3. 3.

Obnunciationibus per Scævolam interpoſitis, ſingulis diebus—Ad Att. 4. 16.

[*n*] Tribunitii Candidati jurarunt ſe arbitrio Catonis petituros: apud eum H. S. quingena depoſuerunt; ut qui a Catone damnatus eſſet, id perderet, & competitoribus tribueretur—Si comitia, ut putantur, gratuita fuerint; plus unus Cato potuerit, quam omnes quidem judices. Ib. 15. Ad Quin. 2. 15.

"muſt

" must not murther a man indeed in his own " houſe, though that perhaps might be done " moderately, ſince twenty-two acquitted Pro- " cilius, when twenty-eight condemned him [*o*]" Clodius was the accuſer in theſe impeachments: which made Cato, as ſoon as he was acquitted, *ſeek a reconciliation with Cicero and Milo* [*p*]. It was not Cicero's buſineſs to reject the friendſhip of an active and popular Senator; and Milo had occaſion for his ſervice in his approaching ſuit for the Conſulſhip. But though Cicero had no concern in theſe trials, he was continually employed in others, through the reſt of the ſummer: " I " was never, *ſays he*, more buſy in trials than " now; in the worſt ſeaſon of the year, and the " greateſt heats, that we have ever known; " there ſcarce paſſes a day in which I do not de- " fend ſome [*q*]." Beſides his Clients in the City, he had ſeveral towns and colonies under his patronage, which ſometimes wanted his help abroad, as the Corporation of *Reate* did now, to plead for them before the *Conſul Appius, and ten Commiſſioners*, in a controverſy with their neighbours of *Interamna, about draining the lake* Velinus *into the River* Nar, *to the damage of their*

A. Urb. 699. Cic. 53. Coſſ. L. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS, A. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

[*o*] III. Non. Quint. Suffenas & Cato abſoluti: Procilius condemnatus. Ex quo intellectum eſt, τρισαρειοπαγίτας, ambitum, comitia, interregnum, majeſtatem, totam denique Remp. flocci non facere. Debemus patrem familias domi ſuæ occidere nolle, neque tamem id ipſum abunde. Nam abſolverunt 22, condemnarunt 28—— Ad Att. 4. 15.

[*p*] Is tamen & mecum & cum Milone in gratiam rediit. Ib. 16.

[*q*] Sic enim habeto nunquam me a cauſis & judiciis diſtrictiorem fuiſſe, atque id anni tempore graviſſimo, & caloribus maximis. Ad Quint. 2. 16.

Diem ſcito eſſe nullum, quo non dico pro reo. Ib. 3. 3.

A. Urb. 699. Cic. 53. Coſſ. L. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS, A. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

grounds. He returned from this cauſe in the midſt of *the Apollinarian ſhews*; and, to relieve himſelf from the fatigue of his journey, went directly *to the Theater, where he was received by an univerſal clap:* in the account of which to Atticus, he adds, *but this you are not to take notice of, and I am a fool indeed myſelf for mentioning it* [r].

HE now alſo defended Meſſius, one of Cæſar's Lieutenants, *who came from* Gaul *on purpoſe to take his trial:* then Druſus, accuſed *of prevaricating or betraying a cauſe, which he had undertaken to defend; of which he was acquitted by a majority onely of four voices:* After that Vatinius, the laſt year's *Prætor*, and Æmilius Scaurus, one of the Conſular Candidates, *accuſed of plundering the Province of* Sardinia [s]; and about the ſame time likewiſe his old friend, Cn. Plancius; who had entertained him ſo generouſly in his exil, and being now choſen *Ædile*, was accuſed by a diſappointed Competitor, M. Laterenſis, *of bribery and corruption.* All theſe were acquitted, but the Orations for them are loſt, except that for Plancius; which remains a perpetual monument of Cicero's gtatitude: for Plancius having obtained the Tribunate from the people, as the re-

[r] Reatini me ad ſua τεμπη duxerunt, ut agerem cauſam contra Interamnates —Redii Romam—Veni in ſpectaculum; primum magno & æquabali plauſu, (ſed hoc ne curaris; ego ineptus qui ſcripſerim)——Ad Att. 4. 15.

[s] Meſſius defendebatur a nobis, e legatione revocatus ——Deinde me expedio ad Druſum, inde ad Scaurum. ——Ibid.

Druſus erat de prævaricatione—abſolutus, in ſumma quatuor ſententiis—Eodem die poſt meridiem Vatinium aderam defenſurus; ea res facilis———Scauri judicium ſtatim exercebitur, cui nos non deerimus. Ad Quin. 2. 16.

Scaurum beneficio defenſionis valde obligavi.——Ib. 3. 1. §. 5.

ward of his fidelity to Cicero, did not behave himſelf in that poſt, with the ſame affection to him as before, but ſeems ſtudiouſly to have ſlighted him; while ſeveral of his Collegues, and eſpecially Racilius, *were exerting all their power in the defence of his perſon and dignity* [*t*]. Yet Cicero freely undertook his cauſe, and as if no coldneſs had intervened, diſplayed the merit of his ſervices in the moſt pathetic and affecting manner; and reſcued him from the hands of a powerfull accuſer, and his own particular friend. "Druſus's trial was held in the morning; from "which, after going home to write a few Let-"ters, he was obliged to return to Vatinius's in "the afternoon:" which gives us a ſpecimen of the hurry in which he generally lived, and of the little time which he had to ſpend upon his private affairs, or his ſtudies; and though he was now carrying on ſeveral great works of the learned kind, "yet he had no other leiſure, *he* "*tells us*, for meditating and compoſing, but "when he was taking a few turns in his gar-"dens, for the exerciſe of his body: and re-"freſhment of his voice [*u*]." Vatinius had been one of his fierceſt enemies; was in a perpetual oppoſition to him in politics; and, like Beſtia mentioned above, a ſeditious, profligate, abandoned Libertine: ſo that the defence of him gave a plauſible handle for ſome cenſure upon Cicero: but his engagements with Pompey, and eſpecially his new friendſhip with Cæſar, made it neceſſary to embrace *all Cæſar's friends*; among

A. Urb. 699. Cic. 53. Coſſ. L. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS, A. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

[*t*] Negas Tribunatum Plancii quicquam attuliſſe adjumenti dignitati meæ. Atque hoc loco, quod veriſſime facere potes. L. Racilii—divina in me merita commemoras, &c. Pro Plancio 32.

[*u*] Ita quicquid conficio aut cognito in ambulationis fere tempus confero. Ad Quint. 3. 3.

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whom Vatinius was moſt warmly recommended to him.

GABINIUS being recalled, as has been ſaid, from his government, returned to *Rome* about the end of September: he bragged every where on his journey, that he was going *to the demand of a triumph*; and to carry on that farce, continued a while without the gates; till perceiving how odious he was to all within, *he ſtole privately into the City by night, to avoid the diſgrace of being inſulted by the populace* [x]. There were *three different impeachments* provided againſt him: the firſt, *for treaſonable practices againſt the ſtate*; the ſecond, *for the plunder of his province*; the third, *for bribery and corruption*; and ſo many perſons offered themſelves to be proſecutors, *that there was a conteſt amang them before the Prætor, how to adjuſt their ſeveral claims* [y]. The firſt indictment fell to L. Lentulus, who accuſed him the day after he entered the city, "that, "in defiance of religion and the decree of the "Senate, he had reſtored the King of *Ægypt* "with an army, leaving his own Province naked, "and open to the incurſion of enemies, who "had made great devaſtations in it." Cicero, who had received from Gabinius all the provocation, which one man could receive from another, had the pleaſure to ſee his inſolent adver-

[x] Ad urbem acceſſit A.D. xii. Kal. Oct. nihil turpius, nec deſertius. Ad Qu. Fr. 3. 1. §. 5.

Cum Gabinius, quacunque veniebat, triumphum ſe poſtulare dixiſſet, ſubitoque bonus Imperator noctu in urbem, hoſtium plane, invaſiſſet——Ib. 2.

[y] Gabinium tres adhuc factiones poſtulant: &c. Ib. 1. §. 5.

Cum hæc ſcribebam ante lucem, apud Catonem erat divinatio in Gabinium futura, inter Memmium, & Ti. Neronem, & C. & L. Antonios. Ib. 2.

ſary

ſary at his feet; and was prepared to give him ſuch a reception, as he deſerved: but Gabinius durſt not venture to ſhew his head for the firſt ten days, till he was obliged to come to the Senate, in order to give them an account, according to cuſtom, *of the ſtate of his Province, and the troops which he had left in it:* as ſoon as he had told his ſtory, he was going to retire, but the Conſuls detained him, to anſwer to a complaint brought againſt him *by the Publicans, or Farmers of the revenues*, who were attending at the door to make it good. This drew on a debate, in which Gabinius was ſo urged and teized on all ſides, but eſpecially by Cicero, *that, trembling with paſſion, and unable to contain himſelf, he called Cicero a baniſhed man:* upon which, ſays Cicero, in a Letter to his Brother, "nothing "ever happened more honourable to me: the "whole Senate left their ſeats to a man, and "with a general clamor ran up to his very face; "while the Publicans alſo were equally fierce "and clamorous againſt him, and the whole "company behaved juſt as you yourſelf would "have done [z]."

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CICERO had been deliberating for ſome time, *whether he ſhould not accuſe Gabinius himſelf*; but out of *regard to Pompey*, was content to appear

[z] Interim ipſo decimo die, quo ipſum oportebat hoſtium numerum & militum renunciare, in re hæſit, ſumma in frequentia: cum vellet exire, a Conſulibus retentus eſt; introducti publicani. Homo undique actus, cum a me maxime vulneraretur, non tulit, & me trementi voce exulem appellavit. Hic, O Dii, nihil unquam honorificentius nobis accidit. Conſurrexit Senatus cum clamore ad unum, ſic ut ad corpus ejus accederet. Pari clamore atque impetu publicani. Quid quæris? Omnes, tanquam ſi tu eſſes, ita fuerunt.—Ib.

A. Urb. 699. Cic. 53. Coſſ. L. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS, A. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

onely *as a witneſs* againſt him [*a*]; and when the trial was over, gives the following account of it *to his Brother*.

" GABINIUS is acquitted: nothing was ever " ſo ſtupid, as his acuſer Lentulus; nothing ſo " ſordid as the bench: yet if Pompey had not " taken incredible pains, and the rumour of a " Dictatorſhip had not infuſed ſome apprehen- " ſions, he could not have held up his head " even againſt Lentulus: ſince with ſuch an ac- " cuſer, and ſuch Judges; of the ſeventy-two, " who ſat upon him, thirty-two condemned " him. The ſentence is ſo infamous, that he " ſeems likely to fall in the other trials; eſpe- " cially that of plunder; but there's no Repub- " lic, no Senate, no Juſtice, no dignity in any " of us: what can I ſay more of the Judges? " There were but two of them of Prætorian " rank, Domitius Calviniſt, who acquitted him " ſo forwardly, that all the world might ſee it; " and Cato, who as ſoon as the votes were de- " clared, ran officiouſly from the Bench, to car- " ry the firſt news to Pompey. Some ſay, and " particularly Salluſt, that I ought to have ac- " cuſed him: but ſhould I riſk my credit with " ſuch Judges? What a figure ſhould I have " made, if he had eſcaped from me. But there " were other things, which influenced me: " Pompey would have conſidered it as a ſtrug- " gle, not about Gabinius's ſafety, but his own " dignity: it muſt have made a breach between " us: we ſhould have been matched like a pair " of Gladiators; as Pacidianus, with Æſerninus

[*a*] Ego tamen me teneo ab accuſando vix mehercule. Sed tamen teneo, vel quod nolo cum Pompeio pugnare; ſatis eſt, quod inſtat de Milone.—Ib. 3. 2.

" the

" the *Samnite*; he would probably have bitt off " one of my ears, or been reconciled at leaſt " with Clodius—for after all the pains, which " I had taken to ſerve him; when I owed no- " thing to him, he every thing to me; yet he " would not bear my differing from him in pub- " lic affairs, to ſay no worſe of it; and when " he was leſs powerfull than he is at preſent, " ſhewed what power he had againſt me, in my " floriſhing condition; why ſhould I now, " when I have loſt even all deſire of power, " when the Republic certainly has none; when " he alone has all; chuſe him of all men to " contend with? for that muſt have been the " caſe: I cannot think that you would have " adviſed me to it. Salluſt ſays, that I ought " to have done either the one or the other; " and in compliment to Pompey have defended " him; who begged it of me indeed very ear- " neſtly—A ſpecial friend this Salluſt! to wiſh " me to involve myſelf either in a dangerous " enmity, or perpetual infamy. I am delight- " ed with my middle way; and when I had " given my teſtimony faithfully and religiouſly, " was pleaſed to hear Gabinius ſay, that if it " ſhould be permitted to him to continue in the " City, he would make it his buſineſs to give " me ſatisfaction; nor did he ſo much as inter- " rogate me — [*b*]." He gives the ſame ac- count of this trial to his other friends; " how " Lentulus acted his part ſo ill, that people " were perſuaded that he prevaricated — and " that Gabinius's eſcape was owing to the inde- " fatigable induſtry of Pompey, and the corrup- " tion of the Bench [*c*]."

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ABOUT

[*b*] Ad Quint. 3. 4.

[*c*] Quodmodo ergo abſolutus?

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ABOUT the time of this trial there happened *a terrible inundation of the Tiber*, which did much damage at *Rome:* many houſes and ſhops were carried away by it, and *the fine gardens of Cicero's ſon-in-law, Craſſipes, demoliſhed.* It was all charged to the abſolution of Gabinius, after his daring violation of Religion, and contempt of *the Sybil's books:* Cicero applies to it the following paſſage of Homer [*d*].

As when in autumn Jove *his fury pours,*
And earth is loaden with inceſſant ſhowers;
When guilty mortals break th'eternal laws,
And Judges brib'd betray the righteous cauſe,
From their deep beds he bids the rivers riſe,
And opens all the flood-gates of the ſkies.
Mr. Pope, Il. 16. v. 466.

BUT Gabinius's danger was not yet over: he was to be tried a ſecond time, *for the plunder of his Province*; where C. Memmius, one of the Tribuns, was his Accuſer, and M. Cato his Judge, with whom he was not likely to find any favor: Pompey preſſed Cicero *to defend him*, and would not admit of any excuſe; and Gabinius's humble behaviour in the late trial was intended to make way for Pompey's ſollicitation. Cicero ſtood firm for a long time: *Pompey*, ſays he, *labors hard with me, but has yet made no im-*

lutus? —— Accuſatorum incredibilis infamia, id eſt L. Lentuli, quem fremunt omnes prævaricatum; deinde Pompeii mira contentio, Judicum ſordes. Ad Att. 4. 16.

[*d*] Romæ, & maxime Appia ad Martis, mira proluvies. Craſſipedis ambulatio ablata, horti, tabernæ plurimæ. Magna vis aquæ uſque ad piſcinam publicam. Viget illud Homeri — Cadit enim in abſolutionem Gabinii — Ad Quint. 3. 7.

preſſion,

preſſion, nor, if I retain a grain of liberty, ever will [*e*]; A. Urb. 699. Cic. 53. Coſſ. L. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS, A. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

Oh! e'er that dire diſgrace ſhall blaſt my fame,
O'erwhelm me earth——— *Il.* 4. 218.

but Pompey's inceſſant importunity, backed by Cæſar's earneſt requeſt, made it vain to ſtruggle any longer; and forced him againſt his judgement, his reſolution and his dignity, to defend Gabinius; at a time when his defence at laſt proved of no ſervice to him; for he was found guilty by Cato, and condemned of courſe to a perpetual baniſhment. It is probable, that Cicero's Oration was never publiſhed, but as it was his cuſtom to keep the minutes or rough draught of all his pleadings, in what he called *his Commentaries*, which were extant many ages after his death [*f*]; ſo St. Jerom has preſerved from them a ſmall fragment of this ſpeech; which ſeems to be a part of the apology, that he found himſelf obliged to make for it; wherein he obſerves, "that when Pompey's authority had "once reconciled him to Gabinius, it was no "longer in his power to avoid defending him; "for it was ever my perſuaſion, *ſays he*, that "all friendſhips ſhould be maintained with a re-"ligious exactneſs; but eſpecially thoſe, which "happened to be renewed from a quarrel: for in "friendſhips, that have ſuffered no interruption, "a failure of duty is eaſily excuſed by a plea of

[*e*] Pompeius a me valde contendit de reditu in gratiam, ſed adhuc nihil profecit: nec ſi ullam partem libertatis tenebo, proficiet.—Ad Quin. 3. 1. §. 5.

De Gabinio nihil fuit faciendum iſtorum, &c. τότε μοι χάνοι. Il. 4. 218.

[*f*] Quod feciſſe M. Tullium Commentariis ipſius apparet. Quintil. l. x. c. 7.

"inadvertency,

A. Urb. 699. Cic. 53. Coſſ. L. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS, A. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

" inadvertency, or, at the worſt, of negligence; " whereas, if after a reconciliation any new of- " fence be given, it never paſſes for negligent, " but wilfull; and is not imputed to imprudence, " *but to perfidy* [g]."

THE Proconſul, Lentulus, who reſided ſtill in Cilicia, having had an account from *Rome, of Cicero's change of conduct, and his defence of Vatinius*, wrote a ſort of expoſtulatory Letter to him, to know the reaſons of it; telling him, *that he had heard of his reconciliation with Cæſar and Appius, for which he did not blame him; but was at a loſs how to account for his new friendſhip with Craſſus; and above all, what it was, that induced him to defend Vatinius.* This gave occaſion to that long and elaborate anſwer from Cicero, already referred to, written before Gabinius's trial; which would otherwiſe have made his apology more difficult, in which he lays open the motives and progreſs of his whole behaviour from the time of his exil—— " As to the caſe of Vatinius, " *he ſays*, as ſoon as he was choſen Prætor, " where I warmly oppoſed him in favour of Ca- " to, Pompey prevailed with me to be recon- " ciled to him; and Cæſar afterwards took ſur- " prizing pains with me to defend him; to " which I conſented, for the ſake of doing what, " as I told the court at the trial, *the Paraſite, in* " *the Eunuch*, adviſed the Patron to do:

" *Whenever ſhe talks of Phædria, do you pre-* " *ſently praiſe Pamphila, &c.* ſo I begged of the " Judges, that ſince certain perſons of diſtin- " guiſhed rank, to whom I was much obliged, " were ſo fond of my enemy, and affected to " careſs him in the Senate before my face, " with all the marks of familiarity; and ſince

[g] Vid. Fragment. Orationum.

" they

" they had their Publius to give me jealouſy, I " might be allowed to have my Publius alſo, to " teize them with in my turn——." Then as to his general conduct, he makes this general defence; " that the union and firmneſs of the " honeſt, which ſubſiſted when Lentulus left " *Rome*, confirmed, *ſays he*, by my Conſulſhip, " and revived by yours, is now quite broken " and deſerted by thoſe who ought to have " ſupported it, and were looked upon as Pa- " triots; for which reaſon, the maxims and " meaſures of all wiſe Citizens, in which claſs I " always wiſh to be ranked, ought to be changed " too: for it is a precept of Plato, whoſe au- " thority has the greateſt weight with me, to " contend in public affairs, as far as we can per- " ſuade our Citizens, but not to offer violence, " either to our Parent or our Country——If I " was quite free from all engagements, I ſhould " act therefore as I now do; ſhould not think it " prudent to contend with ſo great a power; " nor if it could be effected, to extinguiſh it in " our preſent circumſtances; nor continue al- " ways in one mind, when the things themſelves " and the ſentiments of the honeſt are altered; " ſince a perpetual adherence to the ſame meaſures " has never been approved by thoſe, who know " beſt how to govern eſtates: but, as in ſailing, " it is the buſineſs of art to be directed by the " weather, and fooliſh to perſevere with danger in " the courſe, in which we ſet out, rather than by " changing it, to arrive with ſafety, though later, " where we intended; ſo to us, who manage " public affairs, the chief end propoſed being " dignity with public quiet, our buſineſs is not " to be always ſaying, but always aiming at the " ſame thing. Wherefore if all things, as I " ſaid,

A. Urb. 699. Cic. 53. Coſſ. L. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS, A. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

A. Urb. 699. Cic. 53. Coſſ. L. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS, A. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

" ſaid, were wholly free to me, I ſhould be the
" ſame man that I now am: but when I am in-
" vited to this conduct on the one ſide by kind-
" neſſes, and driven to it on the other by injuries,
" I eaſily ſuffer myſelf to vote and act what I
" take to be uſeful both to myſelf and the Re-
" public; and I do it the more freely, as well
" on the account of my Brother's being Cæſar's
" Lieutenant, as that there is not the leaſt thing,
" which I have ever ſaid or done for Cæſar, but
" what he has repaid with ſuch eminent grati-
" tude, as perſuades me, that he takes himſelf
" to be obliged to me; ſo that I have as much
" uſe of all his power and intereſt, which you
" know to be the greateſt, as if they were my
" own: nor could I otherwiſe have defeated the
" deſigns of my deſperate enemies, if to thoſe
" forces which I have always been maſter of, I
" had not joined the favor of the men of power.
" Had you been here to adviſe me, I am per-
" ſuaded, that I ſhould have followed the ſame
" meaſures: for I know your good nature and
" moderation; I know your heart, not onely
" the moſt friendly to me, but void of all ma-
" levolence to others; great and noble, open
" and ſincere, *&c.* [*b*]" He often defends him-
ſelf on other occaſions by the ſame alluſion *to the art of ſailing:* " I cannot reckon it inconſtancy,
" *ſays he*, to change and moderate our opinion,
" like the courſe of a ſhip, by the weather of
" the Republic; this is what I have learnt, have
" obſerved, have read; what the records of
" former ages have delivered, of the wiſeſt and
" moſt eminent Citizens, both in this and all
" other Cities; that the ſame maxims are not
" always to be purſued by the ſame men; but

[*b*] Ep. Fam. 1. 9.

" ſuch,

" ſuch, whatever they be, which the ſtate of the " Republic, the inclination of the times, the " occaſions of public peace require: this is what " I am now doing, and ſhall always do—[*i*]." A. Urb. 699. Cic. 53. Coſſ. L. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS, A. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

THE trial of C. Rabirius Poſthumus, *a perſon of Equeſtrian rank*, was an appendix to that of Gabinius. It was one of the articles againſt Gabinius, *that he had received about two millions for reſtoring King Ptolemy*; yet all his eſtate, which was to be found, was not ſufficient to anſwer the damages in which he was condemned; nor could he give any ſecurity for the reſt: in this caſe, the method was to demand the deficiency from thoſe through whoſe hands the management of his money affairs had paſſed, and who were ſuppoſed to have been ſharers in the ſpoil: this was charged upon Rabirius, and *that he had adviſed Gabinius to undertake the reſtoration of the king, and accompanied him in it, and was employed to ſollicit the payment of the money, and lived at* Alexandria *for that purpoſe, in the King's ſervice, as the public Receiver of his taxes, and wearing the Pallium or habit of the country.*

CICERO urged in defence of Rabirius, " that " he had born no part in that tranſaction; but " that his whole crime, or rather folly, was, that " he had lent the King great ſumms of money " for his ſupport at *Rome*; and ventured to truſt " a Prince, who, as all the world then thought,

[*i*] Neque enim inconſtantis puto, ſententiam tanquam aliquod navigium atque curſum ex Reip. tempeſtate moderari. Ego vero hæc didici, hæc vidi, hæc ſcripta legi: hæc de ſapientiſſimis & clariſſimis viris, & in hac Repub. & in aliis civitatibus monumenta nobis & literæ prodiderunt: non ſemper eaſdem ſententias ab iiſdem, ſed quaſcunque Reip. ſtatus, inclinatio temporum, ratio concordiæ poſtularet, eſſe defendendas. Quod ego & facio, & ſemper faciam.—Pro Plancio. 39.

" was

A. Urb. 699. Cic. 53. Coſſ. L. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS, A. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

" was going to be reſtored by the authority of " the *Roman* people: that the neceſſity of going " to *Ægypt* for the recovery of that debt, was " the ſource of all his miſery: where he was " forced to take whatever the King would give " or impoſe: that it was his misfortune to be " obliged to commit himſelf to the power of an " arbitrary Monarch: that nothing could be more " mad than for a Roman Knight, and Citizen " of a Republic of all others the moſt free, to " go to any place, where he muſt needs be a " ſlave to the will of another; that all who ever " did ſo, as Plato and the wiſeſt had ſometimes " done too haſtily, always ſuffered for it; this " was the caſe of Rabirius: neceſſity carried " him to *Alexandria*; his whole fortunes were " at ſtake [*k*]; which he was ſo far from im- " proving by his traffic with that King, that he " was ill treated by him, impriſoned, threatened " with death, and glad to run away at laſt with " the loſs of all: and at that very time, it was " wholly owing to Cæſar's generoſity, and re- " gard to the merit and misfortunes of an old " friend, that he was enabled to ſupport his for- " mer rank and Equeſtrian dignity—[*l*]." Gabinius's *trial* had ſo near a relation to this, and was ſo often referred to in it, that the Proſecutors could not omit ſo fair an opportunity of *rallying* Cicero, for the part which he had acted in it: Memmius obſerved, *that the Deputies of* Alexandria *had the ſame reaſon for appearing for Gabinius, which Cicero had for defending him, the command of a maſter.—No, Memmius, replied Cicero, my reaſon for defending him, was a reconciliation with him; for I am not aſhamed to own, that my quarrels are mortal, my friendſhips immortal:*

[*k*] Pro Rabir. 8, 9. [*l*] Ib. 15.

and

and if you imagine, that I undertook that cauſe for fear of Pompey, you neither know Pompey, nor me; for Pompey would neither deſire it of me againſt my will, nor would I, after I had preſerved the liberty of my Citizens, ever give up my own [*m*]. A. Urb. 699. Cic. 53. Coſſ. L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, A. Claudius Pulcher.

Valerius Maximus reckons Cicero's *defence of Gabinius and Vatinius*, among the great and laudable examples of humanity, which the *Roman* Hiſtory furniſhed; *as it is nobler*, he ſays, *to conquer injuries with benefits, than to repay them in kind, with an obſtinacy of hatred* [*n*]. This turn is agreeable to the deſign of that writer, whoſe view it ſeems to be, in the collection of his ſtories, to give us rather what is ſtrange, than true; and to dreſs up facts as it were into fables, for the ſake of drawing a moral from them: for whatever Cicero himſelf might ſay for it, in the floriſhing ſtile of an oration, it is certain, that he knew and felt it to be, what it really was, an indignity and diſhonour to him, which he was forced to ſubmit to by the iniquity of the times, and his engagements with Pompey and Cæſar, as he often laments to his friends in a very paſſionate ſtrain: *I am afflicted*, ſays he, *my deareſt Brother, I am afflicted, that there is no Republic, no Juſtice in trials; that this ſeaſon of my life, which ought to flo-*

[*m*] Ait etiam meus familiaris, eandem cauſam Alexandrinis fuiſſe, cur laudarent Gabinium, quæ mihi fuit, cur eundem defenderem. Mihi, C. Memmi, cauſa defendendi Gabinii fuit reconciliatio gratiæ. Neque vero me pœnitet, *mortales inimicitias ſempiternas amicitias habere.* Nam ſi me invitum putas, ne Cn. Pompeii animum offenderem, defendiſſe cauſam, & illum & me vehementer ignoras. Neque enim Pompeius me ſua cauſa quidquam facere voluiſſet invitum; neque ego, cui omnium civium libertas, cariſſima fuiſſet, meam projeciſſem—Pro C. Rabir. Poſt. 12.

[*n*] Sed hujuſce generis humanitas etiam in M. Cicerone præcipua apparuit, &c. Val. Max. 4. 2.

A. Urb. 699. Cic. 53. Coſſ. L. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS, A. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

riſh in the authority of the Senatorian character, is either waſted in the drudgery of the Bar, or relieved only by domeſtic ſtudies; that what I have ever been fond of from a boy,

In every virtuous act and glorious ſtrife
To ſhine the firſt and beſt ———

is wholly loſt and gone; that my enemies are partly not oppoſed, partly even defended by me; and neither what I love, nor what I hate, left free to me [o].

WHILE Cæſar was engaged in *the Britiſh expedition*, his Daughter Julia, *Pompey's wife, died in child-bed at Rome*, after ſhe was delivered of a ſon, which died alſo ſoon after her. Her loſs was not more lamented by the Huſband and Father, who both of them tenderly loved her, than by all their common friends, and well-wiſhers to the public peace; who conſidered it as a ſource of freſh diſturbance to the ſtate, from the ambitious views and claſhing intereſts of the Two Chiefs; whom the life of one ſo dear, and the relation of Son and Father ſeemed hitherto to have united by the ties both of duty and affection [p]. Cæſar is ſaid *to have born the news of*

[o] Angor, mi ſuaviſſime frater, angor, nullam eſſe Remp. nulla judicia, noſtrumque hoc tempus ætatis, quod in illa Senatoria auctoritate florere debebat, aut forenſi labore jactari, aut domeſticis litteris ſuſtentari. Illud vero quod a puero adamaram,

Αἰὲν ἀριζεύειν, καὶ ὑπείροχόν ἔμμεναι ἄλλων.

Il. υ. 208.

totum occidiſſe; inimicos a me partim non oppugnatos; partim etiam eſſe defenſos; meum non modo animum, ſed ne odium quidem eſſe liberum—Ad Quin. 3. 5.

[p] Cum medium jam, ex invidia potentiæ male cohærentis inter Cn. Pompeium & C. Cæſarem, concordiæ pignus, Julia uxor Magni deceſſit——Filius quoque parvus, Julia natus, intra breve ſpatium obiit. Vell. Pat. 2. 47. Val. M. 4. 6.

her

her death with an uncommon firmneſs [q]: It is certain, that ſhe had lived long enough to ſerve all the ends, which he propoſed from that alliance, and to procure for him every thing that Pompey's power could give: for while Pompey, forgetfull of his honor and intereſt, was ſpending his time inglorioufly at home, in the careſſes of a young wife, and the delights of *Italy*; and, as if he had been onely Cæſar's agent, was continually decreeing freſh honors, troops, and money to him; Cæſar was purſuing the direct road to Empire; training his Legions in all the toils and diſcipline of a bloody war; himſelf always at their head, animating them by his courage, and rewarding them by his bounty; till from a great and wealthy Province, having raiſed money enough to corrupt, and an army able to conquer all who could oppoſe him, he ſeemed to want nothing for the vaſt execution of his deſigns, but a pretext to break with Pompey; which, as all wiſe men foreſaw, could not long be wanted, when Julia, the cement of their union, was removed. For though the power of the Triumvirate had given a dangerous blow to the liberty of Rome, yet the jealouſies and ſeparate intereſts of the Chiefs obliged them to manage it with ſome decency; and to extend it but rarely, beyond the forms of the conſtitution; but whenever that league ſhould happen to be diſſolved, which had made them already too great for private ſubjects, the next conteſt of courſe muſt be for dominion, and the ſingle maſtery of the Empire.

A. Urb. 699. Cic. 53. Coſſ. L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, A. Claudius Pulcher.

[q] Cæſar — cum audivit deceſſiſſe filiam — inter tertium diem Imperatoria obiit munera. Senec. Conſol. ad Helv. p. 116.

A. Urb. 699. Cic. 53. Coſſ. L. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS, A. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

ON the ſecond of November, C. Pontinius *triumphed over the Allobroges*, he had been *Prætor*, when Cicero *was Conſul*; and at the end of his Magiſtracy obtained the government of that part of *Gaul*, which having been tampering with Catiline in his conſpiracy, broke out ſoon afterwards into open Rebellion, but was reduced by the vigor of this General. For this ſervice, he demanded *a Triumph*, but met with great oppoſition, which he ſurmounted with incredible patience: for he perſevered in his ſuit *for five years ſucceſſively*; reſiding all that while, according to cuſtom, in the ſuburbs of the City, till he gained his point at laſt by a kind of violence. Cicero was his friend, and continued in *Rome* on purpoſe to aſſiſt him; and *the Conſul* Appius ſerved him *with all his power*; *but Cato proteſted, that Pontinius ſhould never triumph while he lived*; *though this*, ſays Cicero, *like many of his other threats, will end at laſt in nothing*. But *the Prætor Galba*, who had been his Lieutenant, having procured by ſtratagem *an act of the people in his favor*, he entered the city in his Triumphal Chariot, where he was ſo rudely received and oppoſed in his paſſage through the ſtreets, *that he was forced to make his way with his ſword, and the ſlaughter of many of his adverſaries* [r].

IN the end of the year, Cicero conſented *to be one of Pompey's Lieutenants in* Spain; *which he*

[r] Ea re non longius, quam vellem, quod Pontinio ad Triumphum volebam adeſſe: etenim erit neſcio quid negotioli, &c. Ad Quin. 3. 5. Pontinius vult A. D. IV. Non. Novemb. triumphare. Huic obviam Cato & Servilius Prætores aperte, & Q. Mucius Tribunus—Sed erit cum Pontinio Appius Conſul. Cato tamen affirmat, ſe vivo illum non triumphare, id ego puto, ut multa ejuſdem, ad nihil recaſurum—Ad Att. 4. 16. It. Dio. l. 39. p. 120.

began

began to think convenient to the preſent ſtate of his affairs, and reſolved to ſet forward for that Province, about the middle of January [*s*]: but this ſeemed to give ſome umbrage to Cæſar, who, by the help of Quintus, hoped to diſengage him gradually from Pompey, and to attach him to himſelf; and with that view had begged of him in his Letters, to continue at *Rome* [*t*], for the ſake of ſerving himſelf with his authority in all affairs which he had occaſion to tranſact there; ſo that, out of regard probably to Cæſar's uneaſineſs, Cicero ſoon changed his mind, and reſigned *his lieutenancy:* to which he ſeems to allude in a Letter to his Brother, where he ſays, *that he had no ſecond thoughts in whatever concerned Cæſar; that he would make good his engagements to him; and being entered into his friendſhip with judgement, was now attached to him by affection* [*u*].

A. Urb. 699. Cic. 53. Coſſ. L. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS, A. CLAUDIUS ULCHER.

HE was employed at Cæſar's deſire along with Oppius, in ſettling the plan of a moſt expenſive and magnificent work, which Cæſar was going to execute at *Rome, out of the ſpoils of* Gaul; *a new Forum,* with many grand buildings annexed to it; for the area of which alone, they had contracted to pay to the ſeveral owners, *about five hundred thouſand pounds; or, as Suetonius computes, near double that* ſumm [*x*]. Cicero calls it *a glorious*

[*s*] Sed heus tu, ſcripſeramne tibi me eſſe legatum Pompeio; & extra urbem quidem fore, ex Id. Jan. viſum eſt hoc mihi ad multa quadrare—Ad Att. 4. 18.

[*t*] Quod mihi tempus, Romæ præſertim, ut iſte me rogat, manenti, vacuum oſtenditur?—Ad Quin. 2. 15.

[*u*] Ego vero nullas δευτέρας φροντίδας; habere poſſum in Cæſaris rebus—Videor id judicio facere. Jam enim debeo: ſed tamen amore ſum incenſus—Ad Quin. 3. 1. §. 5.

[*x*] Forum de manubiis inchoavit; cujus area ſuper H. S. millies conſtitit. Suet. J. Cæſ. 26.

A. Urb. 699. Cic. 53. Coſſ. L. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS, A. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

piece of work, and ſays, *that the partitions, or incloſures of the Campus Martius, in which the Tribes uſed to vote, were all to be made new of marble, with a roof likewiſe of the ſame, and a ſtately Portico carried round the whole, of a mile in Circuit, to which a public Hall or Town-houſe was to be joined* [y]. While this building was going forward, L. Æmilius Paullus was employed in raiſing another, not much inferior to it, at his own expence: for he repaired and beautified *an ancient Baſilica in the old Forum*; and built at the ſame time *a new one with Phrygian columns*, which was called after *his own name*; and is frequently mentioned by the later writers, as a Fabric of wonderfull magnificence, computed to have coſt him three hundred thouſand pounds [z].

A. Urb. 700. Cic. 54.

THE new Tribuns purſued the meaſures of their predeceſſors, and would not ſuffer an election of Conſuls; ſo that when the new year came on, the Republic wanted its proper head: in this caſe the adminiſtration fell into the hands of *an Interrex*; a proviſional Magiſtrate, who muſt neceſſarily *be a Patrician, and choſen by the body of Patricians*, called together for that pur-

[y] Itaque Cæſaris amici (me dico & Oppium, dirumparis licet) in monumentum illud, quod tu tollere laudibus ſolebas, ut Forum laxaremus, & uſque ad Libertatis atrium explicaremus, conſumſimus H. S. Sexcenties: cum privatis non poterat tranſigi minore pecunia. Efficiemus rem glorioſiſſimam. Nam in Campo Martio ſepta Tributis comitiis marmorea fumus, & tecta facturi, eaque cingemus excelſa porticu, ut mille paſſuum conficiatur. Simul adjungetur huic operi, villa etiam publica—Ad Att. 4. 16.

[z] Paullus in medio Foro Baſilicam jam pæne texuit, iiſdem antiquis columnis: illam autem, quam locavit, facit magnificentiſſimam. Nihil gratius illo monumento, nihil glorioſius—Ibid.

poſe

poſe by the Senate [*a*]. His power however was but ſhort-lived, being transferred, *every five days, from one Interrex to another*, till an election of Conſuls could be obtained; but the Tribuns, whoſe authority was abſolute, while there were no Conſuls to controul them, continued fierce againſt any election at all: ſome were for reviving *the ancient dignity of military Tribuns*; but that being unpopular, a more plauſible Scheme was taken up and openly avowed, *of declaring Pompey Dictator*. This gave great apprehenſions to the City, for the memory of *Sylla's Dictatorſhip*; and was vigorouſly oppoſed by all the Chiefs of the Senate, and eſpecially by Cato: Pompey choſe to keep himſelf out of ſight, and retired into the country, to avoid the ſuſpicion of affecting it. "The rumor of a Dictatorſhip, "*ſays Cicero*, is diſagreeable to the honeſt; but "the other things, which they talk of, are "more ſo to me; the whole affair is dreaded, "but flags: Pompey flatly diſclaims it, though he "never denied it to me before: the Tribun Hir-"rus will probably be the promoter: good Gods! "how ſilly and fond of himſelf without a rival? "At Pompey's requeſt, I have deterred Craſſus "Junianus, who pays great regard to me, from "meddling with it. It is hard to know whe-"ther Pompey really deſires it or not; but if "Hirrus ſtir in it, he will not convince us, that "he is averſe to it [*b*]." In another Letter; "Nothing

A. Urb. 700. Cic. 54.

[*a*] Vid. Aſcon. argument. in Milon.—

[*b*] Rumor Dictatoris in jucundus bonis: mihi etiam magis quæ loquuntur. Sed tota res & timetur & refrigeſcit. Pompeius plane ſe negat velle: antea ipſe mihi non negabat. Hirrus auctor fore videtur. O Dii, quam ineptus, & quam ſe amans ſine rivali! Craſſum Junianum, hominem mihi deditum, per me deterruit. Velit, nolit, ſcire

A. Urb. 700. Cic. 54. "Nothing is yet done as to the Dictatorſhip; "Pompey is ſtill abſent; Appius in a great buſ- "tle; Hirrus preparing to oppoſe it; but ſeve- "ral are named as ready to interpoſe their nega- "tive: the people do not trouble their heads "about it; the Chiefs are againſt it; I keep my- "ſelf quiet [*c*]." Cicero's friend, Milo, was irreſolute how to act on this occaſion; he was forming an intereſt for the Conſulſhip, and if he declared againſt *a Dictatorſhip, was afraid of making Pompey his enemy; or if he ſhould not help the opponents, that it would be carried by force*; in both which caſes, his own pretenſions were ſure to be diſappointed: he was inclined therefore to join in the oppoſition, but ſo far onely as to repell any violence [*d*].

THE Tribuns in the mean time were growing every day more and more inſolent, and engroſſing all power to themſelves; till Q. Pompeius Rufus, *the Grandſon of Sylla, and the moſt factious eſpouſer of a Dictator, was, by a reſolute decree of the Senate, committed to priſon:* and Pompey himſelf, upon his return to the City, finding the greater and better part utterly averſe to his Dictatorſhip, yielded, at laſt, after *an Interregnum of ſix months, that Cn. Domitius Calvinus, and M. Meſſala, ſhould be declared Conſuls* [*e*]. Theſe were agreeable likewiſe to Cæſar: Cicero had particularly recommended

ſcire difficile eſt. Hirro tamen agente, nolle ſe non probabit—Ad Quint. 3. 8.

[*c*] De Dictatore tamen actum nihil eſt. Pompeius abeſt: Appius miſcet: Hirrus parat: multi interceſſores numerantur: populus non curat: principes nolunt: ego quieſco—Ib. 9.

[*d*] Hoc horret Milo—& ſi ille Dictator factus ſit, pæne diffidit. Interceſſorem dictaturæ ſi juverit manu & præſidio ſuo Pompeium metuit inimicum; ſi non juverit, timet, ne per vim perferatur—Ib. 8.

[*e*] Vid. Dio. l. 40. p. 141.

Meſſala

Meſſala to him; of whom, he ſays in a Letter to his Brother; *As to your reckoning Meſſala and Calvinus ſure Conſuls, you agree with what we think here; for I will be anſwerable to Cæſar for Meſſala* [*f*]. A. Urb. 700. Cic. 54. Coſſ. CN. DOMITIUS CALVINUS, M. VALERIUS MESSALA.

BUT after all this Buſtle about *a Dictator*, there ſeems to have been no great reaſon for being much afraid of it at this time: for the Republic was in ſo great a diſorder, that nothing leſs than *the Dictatorial* power could reduce it to a tolerable ſtate: ſome good of that kind might reaſonably be expected from Pompey, without the fear of any great harm, while there was ſo ſure a check upon him as Cæſar; who, upon any exorbitant uſe of that power, would have had the Senate and all the better ſort on his ſide, by the ſpecious pretence of aſſerting the public liberty: Cicero therefore judged rightly, in thinking, that there were other things, which might be apprehended, and ſeemed likely to happen, that, in their preſent ſituation, were of more dangerous conſequence than *a Dictatorſhip*.

THERE had ſcarce been ſo *long an Interregnum in Rome*, ſince the expulſion of their Kings; during which, all public buſineſs, and eſpecially all judicial procedings, were wholly interrupted: which explanes a jocoſe paſſage in *one of Cicero's Letters to Trebatius*; *if you had not already*, ſays he, *been abſent from* Rome, *you would certainly have run away now; for what buſineſs is there for a Lawyer in ſo many Interregnums? I adviſe all my Clients, if ſued in any action, to move every In-*

[*f*] Meſſalam quod certum Conſulem cum Domitio numeratum, nihil a noſtra opinione diſſentitis. Ego Meſſalam Cæſari præſtabo—Ad Quint. 3. 8.

terrex

A. Urb. 700. Cic. 54. Coſſ. CN. DOMITIUS CALVINUS, M. VALERIUS MESSALA.

terrex twice for more time: do not you think, that I have learnt the law of you to good purpoſe [g]?

HE now began a correſpondence of Letters with Curio, a young Senator of diſtinguiſhed birth and parts, who upon his firſt entrance into the Forum had been committed to his care, and was at this time *Quæſtor in Aſia*. He was poſſeſſed of a large and ſplendid fortune, by the late death of his Father; ſo that Cicero, who knew his high ſpirit and ambition, and that he was formed to do much good or hurt to his country, was deſirous to engage him early in the intereſts of the Republic; and by inſtilling great and generous ſentiments, to inflame him with a love of true glory. Curio had ſent orders to his agents at *Rome, to proclame a ſhew of gladiators in honor of his deceaſed Father:* but Cicero ſtopt the declaration of it for a while, in hopes to diſſuade him from ſo great and fruitleſs an expence [b]. He foreſaw, that nothing was more likely to corrupt his virtue than the ruin of his fortunes; or to make him a dangerous Citizen, than prodigality: to which he was naturally inclined, and which Cicero, for that reaſon, was the more deſirous to check at his firſt ſetting out: but all his endeavours were to no purpoſe; Curio reſolved to give *the ſhew of Gladiators*; and by a continual profuſion of his money, anſwerable to this beginning, after he had acted the Patriot for ſome

[g] Niſi ante Roma profectus eſſes, nunc eam certe relinqueres. Quis enim tot interregnis Juriſconſultum deſiderat? Egoomnibus, unde petitur, hoc conſilii dederim, ut a ſingulis Interregibus binas advocationes poſtulent. Satiſne tibi videor abs te jus civile didiciſſe? Ep. Fam. 7. 11.

[b] Rupæ Studium non defuit declarandorum munerum tuo nomine: ſed nec mihi placuit, nec cuiquam tuorum, quidquam te abſente fieri, quod tibi, cum veniſſes, non eſſet integrum, &c. Ep. Fam. 2. 3.

time

time with credit and applauſe, was reduced at laſt to the neceſſity of ſelling himſelf to Cæſar. A. Urb. 700. Cic. 54. Coſſ. CN. DOMITIUS CALVINUS, M. VALERIUS MESSALA.

THERE is but little of politics in theſe Letters, beſides ſome general complaints, *of the loſt and deſperate ſtate of the Republic:* in one of them, after reckoning up the various ſubjects of Epiſtolary writing; *ſhall I joke with you then,* ſays he, *in my Letters? On my conſcience, there is not a Citizen, I believe, who can laugh in theſe times: or ſhall I write ſomething ſerious? But what can Cicero write ſeriouſly to Curio, unleſs it be on the Republic? where my caſe at preſent is ſuch, that I have noinclination to write, what I do not think*—[*i*]. In another, after putting him in mind of the incredible expectation which was entertained of him at *Rome*; "not that I am afraid, *ſays he,* "that your virtue ſhould not come up to the "opinion of the public; but rather, that you "find nothing worth caring for at your return; "all things are ſo ruined and oppreſſed; but I "queſtion whether it be prudent to ſay ſo much "—It is your part, however, whether you retain "any hopes, or quite deſpair, to adorn yourſelf "with all thoſe accompliſhments, which can "qualify a Citizen, in wretched times and pro-"fligate morals, to reſtore the Republic to its "ancient dignity [*k*]."

THE firſt news from abroad after the inauguration of the Conſuls, was of the miſerable *death*

[*i*] Jocerne tecum per litteras? civem mehercule non puto eſſe, qui temporibus his ridere poſſit. An gravius aliquid ſcribam? Quid eſt quod poſſit graviter a Cicerone ſcribi ad Curionem, niſi de Rep.? Atque in hoc genere hæc mea cauſa eſt, ut neque ea, quæ non ſentio, velim ſcribere——Ib. 4.

[*k*] Non quo verear ne tua virtus opinioni hominum non reſpondeat: ſed mehercule, ne cum veneris, non habeas jam quod cures: ita ſunt omnia debilitata jam prope & exſtincta, &c. Ib. 5.

of

A. Urb. 700. Cic. 54. Coſſ. CN. DOMITIUS CALVINUS, M. VALERIUS MESSALA.

of Craſſus and his ſon Publius, with the total defeat of his army by the Parthians. This was one of the greateſt blows that *Rome* had ever received from a foreign enemy, and for which it was ever after meditating revenge: the *Roman* writers generally imputed it to Craſſus's *contempt of the Auſpices*; as ſome *Chriſtians* have ſince charged it, *to his ſacrilegious violation of the Temple of* Jeruſalem, which he is ſaid to have plundered of two millions; both of them with equal Superſtition pretending to unfold the counſils of heaven, and to fathom thoſe depths, which are declared to be *unſearchable* [*l*]. The chief and immediate concern, which the City felt on this occaſion, was for the detriment that the Republic had ſuffered, and the danger to which it was expoſed, by the loſs of ſo great an army; yet the principal miſchief lay in what they did not at firſt regard, and ſeemed rather to rejoice at, *the loſs of Craſſus himſelf.* For after the death of Julia, Craſſus's authority was the onely means left of curbing the power of Pompey, and the ambition of Cæſar; being ready always to ſupport the weaker, againſt the encroachments of the ſtronger; and keep them both within the bounds of a decent reſpect to the laws: but this check being now taken away, and the power of the Empire thrown, as a kind of prize, between two; it gave a new turn to their ſeveral pretenſions; and created a freſh competition for the larger ſhare; which, as the event afterwards ſhewed, muſt neceſſarily end in the ſubverſion of the whole.

[*l*] M. Craſſo quid acciderit, videmus dirarum obnunciatione neglecta. [De Dio, l. 16.]

Being for his impious ſacrilege at Jeruſalem juſtly deſtined to deſtruction, God did caſt infatuations into all his councils, for the leading him thereto——Prideaux. Connect. Par. 2. p. 362.

PUBLIUS

PUBLIUS CRASSUS, who periſhed with his Father in this fatal expedition, was a youth of an amiable character; educated with the ſtricteſt care, and perfectly inſtructed in all the liberal ſtudies; he had ready wit and eaſy language; was grave without arrogance, modeſt without negligence, adorned with all the accompliſhments proper to form a principal Citizen and Leader of the Republic: by the force of his own judgement he had devoted himſelf very early to the obſervance and imitation of Cicero, whom he perpetually attended, and reverenced with a kind of *filial piety*. Cicero conceived a mutual affection for him, and obſerving his eager thirſt of glory, was conſtantly inſtilling into him the true notion of it, and exhorting him to purſue that ſure path to it, which his anceſtors had left beaten and traced out to him, through the gradual aſcent of civil honors. But, by ſerving under Cæſar in the *Gallic* wars, he had learnt, as he fancied, a ſhorter way to fame and power, than what Cicero had been inculcating; and having ſignalized himſelf in a campaign or two as a ſoldier, was in too much haſte to be a General; when Cæſar ſent him at the head of a thouſand horſe, to the aſſiſtance of his Father in the *Parthian* war. Here the vigor of his youth and courage carried him on ſo far, in the purſuit of an enemy, whoſe chief art of conqueſt conſiſted in flying, that he had no way left to eſcape, but what his high ſpirit diſdained, by the deſertion of his troops, and a precipitate flight; ſo that finding himſelf oppoſed with numbers, cruelly wounded, and in danger of falling alive into the hands of the *Parthians*, he choſe to die by the ſword of his Armour-bearer. Thus while he aſpired, as Cicero ſays, to the fame of another Cyrus or Alexander,

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ander, *he fell ſhort of that glory, which many of his Predeceſſors had reaped, from a ſucceſſion of honours, conferred by their country, as a reward of their ſervices* [*m*.]

By the death of *Young Craſſus*, a place became vacant *in the College of Augurs*, for which Cicero declared himſelf a Candidate: nor was any one ſo hardy as to appear againſt him, except Hirrus, *the Tribun*, who truſting to the popularity of his office and Pompey's favor, had the vanity to pretend to it: but a Competion ſo unequal furniſhed matter of raillery only to Cicero; who was choſen without any difficulty or ſtruggle, with *the unanimous approbation of the whole body* [*n*]. This College, from the laſt regulation of it by Sylla, conſiſted *of fifteen*, who were all perſons of the firſt diſtinction in *Rome*: it was a prieſthood for life, of a character indelible; which no crime or forfeiture could efface: the Prieſts of all kinds were originally choſen by their Colleges; till Domitius, a Tribun, about fifty years before, transferred the choice of them to the people; whoſe authority was held to be ſupreme in ſacred,

[*m*] Hoc magis ſum Publio deditus, quod me quanquam a pueritia ſemper, tamen hoc tempore maxime, ſicut alterum parentem & obſervat & diligit. [Ep. Fam. 5. 8.]

P. Craſſum ex omni nobilitate adoleſcentem dilexi plurimum, &c. [Ib. 13. 16.]

Cum P. Craſſo, cum initio ætatis ad amicitiam ſe meam contuliſſet, ſæpe egiſſe me arbitror, cum eum vehementiſſime hortarer, ut eam laudis viam rectiſſimam eſſe duceret, quam majores ejus ei tritam reliquiſſent. Erat enim cum inſtitutus optime, tum plane perfecteque eruditus. Ineratque & ingenium ſatis acre, & orationis non inelegans copia: prætereaque ſine arrogantia gravis eſſe videbatur, & ſine ſegnitie verecundus, &c. Vid. Brut. p. 407. It. Plut. in Craſſ.

[*n*] Quomodo Hirrum putas Auguratus tui competitorem—Ep. Fam. 8. 3.

as well as civil affairs [o]. This act was reverſed by Sylla, and the ancient right reſtored to the Colleges; but Labienus, when Tribun, in Cicero's Conſulſhip, recalled the law of Domitius, to facilitate Cæſar's advancement to the High-Prieſthood: it was neceſſary however, *that every Candidate ſhould be nominated to the people by two Augurs, who gave a ſolemn teſtimony upon oath of his dignity and fitneſs for the office*: this was done in Cicero's caſe by Pompey and Hortenſius, the two moſt eminent members of the College; and after the election, he was inſtalled with all the uſual formalities by Hortenſius [p]. A. Urb. 700. Cic. 54. Coſſ. Cn. Domitius Calvinus, M. Valerius Meſſala.

As in the laſt year, ſo in this, the factions of the City prevented the choice of Conſuls: the Candidates, T. Annius Milo, Q. Metellus Scipio, and P. Plautius Hypſæus, puſhed on their ſeveral intereſts with ſuch open violence and bribery, as if the Conſulſhip was to be carried onely by *money or arms* [q]. Clodius was putting in at the ſame time for the Prætorſhip, and employing all his credit and intereſt to diſappoint Milo, by whoſe obtaining the Conſulſhip, *he was ſure to be eclipſed and controuled, in the exerciſe of his ſubordinate magiſtracy* [r]. Pompey was wholly averſe to Milo, who did not pay him that court, which

[o] Atque hoc idem de cæteris Sacerdotiis Cn. Domitius Tribunus Pl. tulit, &c. De Leg. Ag. 2. 7.

[p] Quo enim tempore me Augurem a toto Collegio expetitum Cn. Pompeius & Q. Hortenſius nominaverunt; neque enim licebat a pluribus nominari.—Philip. 2. 2. Cooptatum me ab eo in collegium recordabar, in quo juratus judicium dignitatis meæ fecerat: & inauguratum ab eodem, ex quo, augurum inſtitutis in parentis eum loco colere debebam. Brut. init.——

[q] Plutar. in Cato.——

[r] Occurrebat ei, mancam ac debilem Prætúram ſuam futuram Conſule Milone.—Pro Milon. 9.

he

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he expected, but ſeemed to affect an independency, and to truſt to his own ſtrength, while the other two competitors were wholly at his devotion: Hypſæus had been *his Quæſtor*, and always his Creature; and he deſigned to make Scipio *his Father-in-law*, by marrying his daughter Cornelia, a Lady of celebrated accompliſhments, the widow of *young Craſſus*.

CICERO, on the other hand, ſerved Milo to the utmoſt of his power, and ardently wiſhed his ſucceſs: this he owed to Milo's conſtant attachment to him, which at all hazards he now reſolved to repay: the affair however was likely to give him much trouble, as well from the difficulty of the oppoſition, as from Milo's own conduct, and unbounded prodigality, which threatened the ruin of all his fortunes: in a Letter to his Brother, who was ſtill with Cæſar, he ſays, "Nothing "can be more wretched than theſe men and "theſe times: wherefore ſince no pleaſure can "now be had from the Republic, I know not "why I ſhould make myſelf uneaſy: books, "ſtudy, quiet, my Country houſes, and above "all, my children are my ſole delight: Milo is "my onely trouble: I wiſh his Conſulſhip may "put an end to it; in which I will not take leſs "pains, than I did in my own; and you will "aſſiſt us there alſo, as you now do: all things "ſtand well with him, unleſs ſome violence de-"feat us: I am afraid onely, how his money "will hold out: for he is mad beyond all bounds "in the magnificence of his ſhews, which he is "now preparing at the expence of 250000*l.* "but it ſhall be my care to check his inconſide-"rateneſs in this one article, as far as I am able, "*&c.* [*s*]" IN

[*s*] Itaque ex Rep. quoniam nihil jam voluptatis capi

In the heat of this competition, Curio was coming home from *Asia*, and expected ſhortly at *Rome*; whence Cicero ſent an expreſs to meet him on the road, or at his landing in *Italy*, with a moſt earneſt and preſſing Letter to engage him to Milo's intereſt.

M. T. Cicero, to C. Curio.

" Before we had yet heard of your coming A. Urb. 701.
" towards *Italy*, I ſent away S. Villius, Milo's Cic. 55.
" friend, with this Letter to you: but when
" your arrival was ſuppoſed to be near, and it
" was known for certain, that you had left *Aſia*,
" and were upon the road to *Rome*, the impor-
" tance of the ſubject left no room to fear, that
" we ſhould be thought to ſend too haſtily,
" when we were deſirous to have it delivered to
" you as ſoon as poſſible. If my ſervices to you,
" Curio, were really ſo great, as they are pro-
" claimed to be by you, rather than conſidered
" by me, I ſhould be more reſerved in aſking,
" if I had any great favor to beg of you: for it

pi poteſt: cur ſtomacher, neſcio. Litteræ me & ſtudia noſtra, & otium; Villæque delectant, maximeque pueri noſtri. Angit unus Milo. Sed velim finem afferat Conſulatus: in quo enitar non minus quam ſum eniſus in noſtro: tuque iſtinc, quod facis, adjuvabis. De quo cætera (niſi plane vis eripuerit) recte ſunt: de re familiari timeo.

Ο δὲ μαίνεται ἔχ ἔτ' ἀνεκλῶς—

Qui ludos H. S. CCC. comparet. Cujus in hoc uno inconſiderantiam & ego ſuſtinebo, ut potero—Ad Quint. 3. 9.

Cicero had great reaſon for the apprehenſions, which he expreſſes on account of Milo's extravagance: for Milo had already waſted three eſtates in giving plays and ſhews to the people; and when he went ſoon after into exil was found to owe ſtill above half a million of our money. Plin. l. 36. 15. Aſcon. Argum. in Milon.

A. Urb. 701. Cic. 55. "goes hard with a modeſt man, to aſk any "thing conſiderable of one, whom he takes to "be obliged to him; leſt he be thought to de- "mand, rather than to aſk: and to look upon "it as a debt, not as a kindneſs. But ſince your "ſervices to me, ſo eminently diſplayed in my "late troubles, are known to all to be the greateſt; "and it is the part of an ingenuous mind, to "wiſh to be more obliged to thoſe, to whom "we are already much obliged; I made no "ſcruple to beg of you by Letter, what of all "things is the moſt important and neceſſary to "me. For I am not afraid leſt I ſhould not "be able to ſuſtain the weight of all your fa- "vors, though ever ſo numerous; being confi- "dent, that there is none ſo great, which my "mind is not able, both fully to contain, and "amply to requite and illuſtrate. I have placed "all my ſtudies, pains, care, induſtry, thoughts, "and, in ſhort, my very ſoul, on Milo's Conſul- "ſhip, and have reſolved with myſelf, to ex- "pect from it, not only the common fruit of "duty, but the praiſe even of piety: nor was "any man, I believe, ever ſo ſollicitous, for his "own ſafety and fortunes, as I am for his ho- "nor; on which I have fixed all my views and "hopes. You, I perceive, can be of ſuch ſer- "vice to him, if you pleaſe, that we ſhall have "no occaſion for any thing farther. We have "already with us the good wiſhes of all the "honeſt, engaged to him by his Tribunate; "and, as you will imagine alſo, I hope, by his "attachment to me: of the populace and the "multitude, by the magnificence of his ſhews, "and the generoſity of his nature: of the youth "and men of intereſt, by his own peculiar cre- "dit or diligence among that ſort: he has all

"my

" my assistance likewise, which though of little A. Urb. 701.
" weight, yet being allowed by all to be just and Cic. 55.
" due to him, may perhaps be of some influence.
" What we want, is a Captain and Leader, or
" a Pilot, as it were, of all those winds; and
" were we to chuse one out of the whole City,
" we could not find a man so fit for the purpose
" as you. Wherefore, if from all the pains,
" which I am now taking for Milo, you can be-
" lieve me to be mindfull of benefits; if grate-
" full; if a good man; if worthy in short of
" your kindness; I beg of you to relieve my
" present sollicitude, and lend your helping hand
" to my praise; or, to speak more truly, to my
" safety. As to T. Annius himself, I promise
" you, if you embrace him, that you will not
" find a man of a greater mind, gravity, con-
" stancy, or of greater affection to you: and as
" for myself, you will add such a luster and fresh
" dignity to me, that I shall readily own you,
" to have shewn the same zeal for my honor,
" which you exerted before for my preservation.
" If I was not sure, from what I have already
" said, that you would see how much I take my
" duty to be interested in this affair, and how
" much it concerns me, not only to struggle,
" but even to fight for Milo's, success, I should
" press you still farther; but I now recommend
" and throw the whole cause, and myself also
" with it, into your hands; and beg of you, to
" assure yourself of this one thing; that if I ob-
" tain this favor from you, I shall be more in-
" debted almost to you, than even to Milo
" himself; since my safety, in which I was prin-
" cipally assisted by him, was not so dear, as
" the piety of shewing my gratitude will be
" agreeable to me; which I am persuaded, I

A. Urb. 701. Cic. 55. "ſhall be able to effect by your aſſiſtance. "Adieu [*t*]."

THE Senate and the better ſort were generally in Milo's intereſt: but *Three of the Tribuns* were violent againſt him, Q. Pompeius Rufus, Munatius Plancus Burſa, and Salluſt *the Hiſtorian*; the other ſeven were his faſt friends, but above all M. Cælius, who, out of regard to Cicero, ſerved him with a particular zeal. But while all things were proceding very proſperouſly in his favor, and nothing ſeemed wanting to crown his ſucceſs, but to bring on the election, which his adverſaries, for that reaſon, were laboring to keep back; all his hopes and fortunes were blaſted at once by an unhappy rencounter with his old enemy Clodius, in which Clodius *was killed by his ſervants, and by his command.*

THEIR meeting was wholly accidental, on the *Appian* road, not far from the City; Clodius coming home from the country towards *Rome*; Milo going out about three in the afternoon; the firſt on horſeback, with three companions, and thirty ſervants well armed; the latter in a chariot with his wife and one friend, but with a much greater retinue, and among them ſome Gladiators. The ſervants on both ſides began preſently to inſult each other; when Clodius turning briſkly to ſome of Milo's men, who were neareſt to him, and threatning them with his uſual fierceneſs, received a wound in his ſhoulder, from one of the Gladiators; and after receiving ſeveral more in the general fray, which inſtantly enſued, finding his life in danger, was forced to fly for ſhelter into a neighbouring Tavern. Milo heated by this ſucceſs, and the thoughts of revenge,

[*t*] Ep. Fam. 2. 6.

and reflecting, that he had already done enough to give his enemy a great advantage againſt him, if he was left alive to purſue it, reſolved, whatever was the conſequence, to have the pleaſure of deſtroying him, and ſo ordered the houſe to be ſtormed, and Clodius to be dragged out and murdered: the maſter of the Tavern was likewiſe killed, with eleven of Clodius's ſervants, while the reſt ſaved themſelves by flight: ſo that Clodius's body was left in the road, where it fell, till S. Tedius, a Senator, happening to come by, took it up into his Chaiſe, and brought it with him to *Rome*; where it was expoſed in that condition, all covered with blood and wounds, to the view of the populace, who flocked about it in crowds to lament the miſerable fate of their Leader. The next day the mob, headed by S. Clodius, a kinſman of the deceaſed, and one of his chief Incendiaries, carried the body naked, ſo as all the wounds might be ſeen, into the Forum, and placed it in the Roſtra; where the Three Tribuns, Milo's enemies, were prepared to harangue upon it in a ſtile ſuited to the lamentable occaſion, by which they inflamed their mercenaries to ſuch a heigth of fury, that ſnatching up the body, they ran away with it into the Senate-houſe, and tearing up the benches, tables, and every thing combuſtible, dreſſed up a funeral pile upon the ſpot, and, together with the body, burnt the houſe itſelf, with a *Baſilica* alſo, or public Hall adjoining, called the *Porcian*; and, in the ſame fit of madneſs, proceeded to ſtorm the houſe of Milo, and of M. Lepidus, the Interrex, but were repulſed in both attacks, with ſome loſs [*u*]. A. Urb. 701. Cic. 55.

THESE

[*u*] Quanquam re vera, fuerat pugna fortuita. Quintil. l. 6. c. 5. Ἐλπίσας—ῥᾷον τῇ φόνῃ τελευτήσαν-

A. Urb. 701. Cic. 55. THESE extravagancies raiſed great indignation in the City; and gave a turn in favor of Milo; who looking upon himſelf as undone, was meditating nothing before, but *a voluntary exil:* but now taking courage, he ventured to appear in public, and was introduced *into the Roſtra by Cælius*; where he made his defence to the people; and, to mitigate their reſentment, diſtributed through all the Tribes *above three pounds a man, to every poor Citizen.* But all his pains and expence were to little purpoſe; for *the three Tribuns* employed all the arts of party and faction to keep up the ill humor of the populace; and what was more fatal, Pompey would not be brought into any meaſures of accommodating the matter; ſo that the tumults ſtill encreaſing, the Senate paſſed a decree, *that the Interrex, aſſiſted by the Tribuns and Pompey, ſhould take care, that the Republic received no detriment; and that Pompey, in particular, ſhould raiſe a body of troops for the common ſecurity*; which he preſently drew together from all parts of *Italy*. In this confuſion, *the rumor of a Dictator was again induſtriouſly revived*, and gave a freſh alarm to the Senate; who, to avoid the greater evil, reſolved preſently *to create Pompey the ſingle Conſul: ſo that the Interrex, Servius Sulpicius, declared his election accordingly, after an Interregnum of near two months* [x].

χειρήσαιτο· αὐτῷ γὰρ τῷ τραύματι, εἰ περιγίνοιτο, ἀφεθήσεσθαι. Dio. l. 40. p. 143.

Milo, ut cognovit vulneratum Clodium, cum ſibi periculoſius illud etiam, vivo eo, futurum intelligeret, occiſo autem magnum ſolatium eſſet habiturus, etiam ſi ſubeunda pœna eſſet, exturbari tabernam juſſit. — Ita Clodius latens extractus eſt, multiſque vulneribus confectus — &c. Vid. Aſconii Argum. in Milon.

[x] Vid. Dio. ibid. & Aſcon. Argum.

A. Urb. 701. Cic. 55. Cn. Pompeius Magn. III. Sine Collega.

POMPEY applied himſelf immediately to calm the public diſorders, and publiſhed ſeveral *new Laws*, prepared by him for that purpoſe: one of them was, to appoint *a ſpecial commiſſion to inquire into Clodius's death, the burning of the Senate-houſe, and the attack on M. Lepidus*; and to appoint *an extraordinary Judge, of Conſular rank, to preſide in it*: a ſecond was, *againſt bribery and corruption in elections, with the infliction of new and ſeverer penalties*. By theſe laws, the method of trials was altered, and the length of them limited: *three days were allowed for the examination of witneſſes, and the fourth for the ſentence; on which the accuſer was to have two hours onely, to enforce the charge; the Criminal three for his defence* [y]: which regulation Tacitus ſeems to conſider, *as the firſt ſtep towards the ruin of the Roman eloquence; by impoſing reins, as it were, upon its free and ancient courſe* [z]. Cælius oppoſed his negative to theſe Laws, *as being rather privileges than Laws, and provided particularly againſt Milo*: but he was ſoon obliged to withdraw it, upon Pompey's declaring, *that he would ſupport them by force of Arms*. The *three Tribuns*, all the while, were perpetually haranguing, and terrifying the City with forged ſtories, *of magazines of arms prepared by Milo, for maſſacring his enemies, and burning the City*; and produced their creatures in *the Roſtra, to vouch the truth of them to the people*: they charged him particularly *with a deſign againſt Pompey's life; and brought one Licinius, a killer of the victims for ſacrifice, to declare that Milo's ſervants had confeſſed it to him in their cups, and then endeavoured to kill him, leſt*

[y] Ibid.

[z] Primus tertio Conſulatu Cn. Pompeius aſtrinxit impoſuitque veluti frænos eloquentiæ—&c. Dialog. de Orator. 38.

A. Urb. 701. Cic. 53. CN. POMPEIUS MAGN. III. Sine Collega.

he ſhould diſcover it: and to make his ſtory the more credible, ſhewed a ſlight wound in his ſide, made by himſelf, which he affirmed to have been given by the ſtroke *of a Gladiator*. Pompey himſelf confirmed this fact, *and laid an account of it before the Senate*; and by doubling his guard affected to intimate a real apprehenſion of danger [*a*]. Nor were they leſs induſtrious to raiſe a clamor againſt Cicero; and, in order to deter him from pleading Milo's cauſe, threatened him alſo with trials and proſecutions; giving it out every where, *that Clodius was killed indeed by the hand of Milo, but by the advice and contrivance of a greater man* [*b*]. Yet ſuch was his conſtancy to his friend, ſays Aſconius, that *neither the loſs of popular favor, nor Pompey's ſuſpicions, nor his own danger, nor the terror of arms, could divert him from the reſalution of undertaking Milo's defence* [*c*].

BUT it was Pompey's *influence and authority, which ruined Milo* [*d*]. He was the onely man in *Rome*, who had the power either to bring him to a trial, or to get him condemned: not that he was concerned for Clodius's death, or the manner of it, but pleaſed rather, that the

[*a*] Audiendas Popa Licinius, neſcio qui de Circo maximo, ſervos Milonis apud ſe ebrios factos confeſſos eſſe, de interficiendo Cn. Pompeio conjuraſſe—de amicorum ſententia rem defert ad Senatum —Pro Milon. 24.

[*b*] Scitis, Judices, fuiſſe, qui in hac rogatione ſuadenda dicerent, Milonis manu cædem eſſe factam, conſilio vero majoris alicujus: videlicet me latronem & ſicarium abjecti homines deſcribebant Ib. 18.

[*c*] Tanta tamen conſtantia ac fides fuit Ciceronis, ut non populi a ſe alienatione, non Cn. Pompeii ſuſpicionibus, non periculi futuri metu,—non armis, quæ palam in Milonem ſumpta erant, deterreri potuerit a defenſione ejus. Argum. Milon.

[*d*] Milonem reum non magis invidia facti, quam Pompeii damnavit voluntas. Vell. P. 2. 47.

Republic

Republic was freed at any rate from ſo peſtilent a Demagogue; yet he reſolved to take the benefit of the occaſion, for getting rid of Milo too, from whoſe ambition and high ſpirit he had cauſe to apprehend no leſs trouble. He would not liſten therefore to any overtures, which were made to him by Milo's Friends; and when Milo *offered to drop his ſuit for the Conſulſhip*, if that would ſatisfy him, he anſwered, *that he would not concern himſelf with any man's ſuing or deſiſting, nor give any obſtruction to the power and inclination of the Roman people.* He attended the trial in perſon with a ſtrong guard to preſerve peace, and prevent any violence from either ſide: there were many clear and poſitive proofs produced againſt Milo, though ſome of them were ſuppoſed to be forged: among the reſt, the *Veſtal virgins depoſed, that a woman unknown came to them, in Milo's name, to diſcharge a vow, ſaid to be made by him, on the account of Clodius's death* [*e*].

A. Urb. 701. Cic. 55. Cn. Pompeius Magn. III. Sine Collega.

When the examination was over, Munatius Plancus called the people together, and exhorted them to appear in a full body the next day, when judgement was to be given, and to declare their ſentiments in ſo public a manner, that the criminal might not be ſuffered to eſcape; which Cicero reflects upon in the defence, as an inſult on the liberty of the Bench [*f*]. Early in the morning, *on the eleventh of April*, the ſhops were all ſhut, and the whole City gathered into the Forum; where the avenues were poſſeſſed by Pompey's ſoldiers, and he himſelf ſeated in a conſpicuous part, to overlook the whole proceding,

[*e*] Vid. Aſconii Argum. in Milon.

[*f*] Ut intelligatis contra heſternam illam concionem licere vobis, quod ſentiatis, libere judicare. Pro Mil. 26. Vid. Aſcon. ibid.

and

A. Urb. 701. Cic. 55. CN. POMPEIUS MAGN. III. Sine Collega.

and hinder all diſturbance. The accuſers were, *Young Appius, the Nephew of Clodius, M. Antonius*, and *P. Valerius*, who, according to the new law, employed *two hours*, in ſupporting their indictment. Cicero was the onely advocate on Milo's ſide; but as ſoon as he roſe up to ſpeak, he was received with ſo rude a clamor *by the Clodians, that he was much diſcompoſed and daunted at his firſt ſetting out; yet recovered ſpirit enough to go through his ſpeech of three hours; which was taken down in writing, and publiſhed as it was delivered*; though the copy of it now extant is ſuppoſed to have been retouched and corrected by him afterwards, for a preſent to Milo in his exil [*g*].

IN the council of Milo's friends, ſeveral were of opinion, that he ſhould defend himſelf, *by avowing the death of Clodius to be an act of public benefit*: But Cicero thought that defence too deſperate; as it would diſguſt the grave, by opening ſo great a door to licence; and offend the powerfull, leſt the precedent ſhould be extended to themſelves. But *Young Brutus* was not ſo cautious; who, in an oration, which he compoſed and publiſhed afterwards in vindication of Milo, maintained *the killing of Clodius to be right and juſt*, and of great ſervice to the Republic [*b*]. It was notorious, that on both ſides, they had often *threatened death to each other*: Clodius eſpecially had declared ſeveral times both to the

[*g*] Cicero, cum inciperet dicere, acceptus eſt acclamatione Clodianorum—itaque non ea, qua ſolitus erat, conſtantia dixit. Manet autem illa quoque excepta ejus Oratio—Aſcon. Argum.——

[*b*] Cum quibuſdam placuiſſet, ita defendi crimen, interfici Clodium pro Repub. fuiſſe, quam formam M. Brutus ſecutus eſt in ea oratione, quam pro Milone compoſuit, & edidit, quamvis non egiſſet, Ciceroni id non placuit—— Ibid.

Senate

A. Urb. 701. Cic. 55. Cn. Pompeius Magn. III. Sine Collega.

Senate and the people, *that Milo ought to be killed; and that, if the Conſulſhip could not be taken from him, his life could: and when Favonius aſked him once, what hopes he could have of playing his mad pranks, while Milo was living; he replied, that in three or four days at moſt, he ſhould live no more:* which was ſpoken juſt *three days* before the fatal rencounter, *and atteſted by Favonius* [*i*]. Since Milo then was charged with being the contriver of their meeting, and the aggreſſor in it, and ſeveral teſtimonies were produced to that purpoſe, Cicero choſe to riſk the cauſe on that iſſue; in hopes to perſuade, what ſeemed to be the moſt probable, *that Clodius actually lay in wait for Milo, and contrived the time and place; and that Milo's part was but a neceſſary act of ſelf defence.* This appeared plauſible, from the nature of their equipage, and the circumſtances in which they met: for though Milo's company was the more numerous, yet it was much more encumbered, and unfit for engagement, than his adverſary's; *he himſelf being in a chariot with his wife, and all her women along with him; while Clodius with his followers were on horſeback; as if prepared and equipped for fighting* [*k*]. He did not preclude himſelf

[*i*] Etenim palam dictitabat, conſulatum Miloni eripi non poſſe, vitam poſſe. Significavit hoc ſæpe in Senatu; dixit in concione. Quinetiam Favonio, quærenti ex eo, qua ſpe fureret, Milone vivo? Reſpondit, triduo illum, ad ſummum quatriduo periturum. Pro Mil. 9.

Poſt diem tertium geſta res eſt, quam dixerat. Ib. 16.

[*k*] Interim cum ſciret Clodius—Iter ſolenne—neceſſarium—Miloni eſſe Lanuvium—Roma ipſe profectus pridie eſt, ut ante ſuum fundum, quod re intellectum eſt, inſidias Miloni collocaret—Milo autem cum in Senatu fuiſſet eo die, quoad Senatus dimiſſus eſt, domum venit, calceos & veſtimenta mutavit: paulliſper, dum ſe uxor,

A. Urb. 701. Cic. 55. CN. POMPEIUS MAGN. III. Sine Collega.

himſelf however by this from the other plea, which he often takes occaſion to inſinuate, *that if Milo had really deſigned and contrived to kill Clodius, he would have deſerved honors inſtead of puniſhment, for cutting off ſo deſperate and dangerous an enemy to the peace and liberty of Rome* [*l*].

IN this ſpeech for Milo, after he had ſhewn the folly of paying ſuch a regard to the idle rumors and forgeries of his enemies, as to give them the credit of an examination, he touches Pompey's conduct and *pretended fears*, with a fine and maſterly raillery; and from a kind of prophetic foreſight of what might one day happen, addreſſes himſelf to him in a very pathetic manner.——"I could not but applaud, *ſays he*, "the wonderfull diligence of Pompey in theſe "inquiries: but to tell you freely, what I think; "thoſe who are charged with the care of the "whole Republic, are forced to hear many "things, which they would contemn, if they "were at liberty to do it. He could not refuſe "an audience to that paultry fellow, Licinius, "who gave the information about Milo's ſer-"vants——I was ſent for among the firſt of

uxor, ut fit, comparat, commoratus eſt—obviam fit ei Clodius expeditus in equo, nulla rheda, nullis impedimentis, nullis Græcis Comitibus, ſine uxore, quod nunquam fere; cum hic Inſidiator,—(Milo)—cum uxore in rheda veheretur penulatus, magno impedimento, ac muliebri & delicato ancillarum & puerorum comitatu ——Pro Mil. 10. it. 21.

[*l*] Quamobrem ſi cruentum gladium tenens clamaret T. Annius, adeſte, quæſo, atque audite cives: P. Clodium interfeci: ejus furores, quos nullis jam legibus, nullis judiciis frænare poteramus, hoc ferro, atque hac dextra a cervicibus veſtris repuli, &c.——Vos tanti ſceleris ultorem non modo honoribus nullis afficietis, ſed etiam ad ſupplicium rapi patiemini? Pro Mil. 28—&c.

"thoſe

" thoſe friends, by whoſe advice he laid it be- A. Urb. 701.
" fore the Senate; and was, I own, in no ſmall Cic. 55.
" conſternation, to ſee the Guardian both of me Cn. Pom-
" and my Country under ſo great an apprehen- peius
" ſion; yet I could not help wondering, that Magn. III.
" ſuch credit was given to a Butcher; ſuch re- Sine Collega.
" gard to drunken ſlaves; and how the wound
" in the man's ſide, which ſeemed to be the
" prick onely of a needle, could be taken for
" the ſtroke of a Gladiator. But Pompey was
" ſhewing his caution, rather than his fear; and
" diſpoſed to be ſuſpicious of every thing, that
" you might have reaſon to fear nothing. There
" was a rumor alſo, that Cæſar's houſe was at-
" tacked for ſeveral hours in the night: the
" neighbours, though in ſo public a place, heard
" nothing at all of it; yet the affair was thought
" fit to be enquired into. I can never ſuſpect
" a man of Pompey's eminent courage, of be-
" ing timorous; nor yet think any caution too
" great in one who has taken upon himſelf the
" defence of the whole Republic. A Senator
" likewiſe in a full houſe, affirmed lately in the
" Capitol, that Milo had a dagger under his
" gown at that very time: Milo ſtript himſelf
" preſently in that moſt ſacred Temple; that,
" ſince his life and manners would not give him
" credit, the thing itſelf might ſpeak for him,
" which was found to be falſe, and baſely forged.
" But if, after all, Milo muſt ſtill be feared; it
" is no longer the affair of Clodius, but your
" ſuſpicions, Pompey, which we dread: your,
" your ſuſpicions, I ſay, and ſpeak it ſo, that
" you may hear me.—If thoſe ſuſpicions ſtick
" ſo cloſe, that they are never to be removed;
" if *Italy* muſt never be free from new levies,
" nor the City from arms, without Milo's de-
" ſtruction;

A. Urb. 701. Cic. 55. CN. POMPEIUS MAGN. III. Sine Collega.

"ſtruction; he would not ſcruple, ſuch is his "nature and his principles, to bid adieu to his "Country, and ſubmit to a voluntary exil: but "at taking leave, he would call upon Thee, "O Thou Great One! as he now does, to con- "ſider how uncertain and variable the condition "of life is: how unſettled and inconſtant a "thing fortune; what unfaithfullneſs there is "in friends; what diſſimulation ſuited to times "and circumſtances; what deſertion, what "cowardice in our dangers, even of thoſe, who "are deareſt to us: there will, there will, I "ſay, be a time, and the day will certainly "come, when you, with ſafety ſtill, I hope, "to your fortunes, though changed perhaps by "ſome turn of the common times, which, as "experience ſhews, will often happen to us all, "may want the affection of the friendlieſt, the "fidelity of the worthieſt, the courage of the "braveſt man living, *&c.* [*m*]"

Of the one and fifty judges, who ſat upon Milo, *thirteen* onely acquitted, and *thirty-eight* condemned him; the votes were uſually given by ballot; but Cato, who abſolved him, choſe to give his vote openly; and, "if he had done it "earlier, *ſays Velleius*, would have drawn others "after him; ſince all were convinced, that he, "who was killed, was, of all who had ever "lived, the moſt pernicious enemy to his "Country, and to all good men [*n*]." Milo went into exil at *Marſeilles*, a few days after his condemnation: his debts were ſo great, that he

[*m*] Pro Mil. 24, 25, 26.

[*n*] M. Cato palam lata abſolvit ſententia, quam ſi maturius tuliſſet, non defuiſſent, qui ſequerentur exemplum, probarentque eum civem occiſum, quo nemo pernicioſior Reip. neque bonis inimicior vixerat. —— Vell. P. 2. 47.

was

A. Urb. 701. Cic. 55. Cn. Pompeius Magn. III. Sine Colleg.

was glad to retire the ſooner from the importunity of his creditors; for whoſe ſatisfaction his whole eſtate was ſold by public auction. Here Cicero ſtill continued his care for him, and in concert with Milo's friends, ordered one of his wife's freedmen, Philotimus, to aſſiſt at the ſale, and to purchaſe the greateſt part of the effects, in order to diſpoſe of them afterwards to the beſt advantage, for the benefit *of Milo and his wife Fauſta, if any thing could be ſaved for them.* But his intended ſervice was not ſo well reliſhed by Milo, as he expected; for Philotimus was ſuſpected of playing the knave, and ſecreting part of the effects to his own uſe; which gave Cicero great uneaſineſs; ſo that he preſſed Atticus and Cælius to inquire into the matter very narrowly, and oblige Philotimus "to give ſa-"tisfaction to Milo's friends; and to ſee eſpe-"cially, that his own reputation did not ſuffer "by the management of his ſervant [o]." Through this whole ſtruggle about Milo, Pompey treated Cicero with great humanity: he aſſigned him a "guard at the trial; forgave all "his labors for his friend, though in oppoſition

[o] Conſilium meum hoc fuerat, primum ut in poteſtate noſtra res eſſet, ne illum malus emptor & alienus mancipiis, quæ permulta ſecum habet, ſpoliaret: deinde ut Fauſtæ, cui cautum ille voluiſſet, ratum eſſet. Erat etiam illud, ut ipſi nos, ſi quid ſervari poſſet, quam facillime ſervaremus. Nunc rem totam perſpicias velim—Si ille queritur——Si idem Fauſta vult, Philotimus, ut ego ei coram dixeram, mihique ille receperat, ne ſit invito Milone in bonis——Ad Att. 5. 8. it. 6. 4.

Quod ad Philotimi liberti officium & bona Milonis attinet, dedimus operam ut & Philotimus quam honeſtiſſime Miloni abſenti, ejuſque neceſſariis ſatis faceret, & ſecundum ejus fidem & ſedulitatem exiſtimatio tua conſervaretur.——Ep. Fam. 8. 3.

"to

A. Urb. 701. Cic. 55. CN. POMPEIUS MAGN. III. Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS SCIPIO.

"to himſelf; and ſo far from reſenting what he "did, would not ſuffer other people's reſent- "ments to hurt him [*p*]."

THE next trial before the ſame Tribunal, and for the ſame crime, was of M. Saufeius, one of Milo's confidents, charged with being the ring-leader *in ſtorming the houſe, and killing Clodius:* he was defended alſo by Cicero, and acquitted onely *by one vote:* but being accuſed a ſecond time on the ſame account, though for a different fact, and again defended by Cicero, *he was acquitted by a great majority.* But Sex. Clodius, the Captain of the other ſide, had not the luck to eſcape ſo well; but was condemned and baniſhed with ſeveral others of that faction, to the great joy of the City, *for burning the Senate-houſe, and the other violences committed upon Clodius's death* [*q*].

POMPEY no ſooner publiſhed his *new law againſt bribery*, than the late Conſular Candidates, Scipio and Hypſæus, *were ſeverally impeached upon it*; and being both of them notoriouſly guilty, were in great danger of being condemned: but Pompey, calling the body of the Judges together, begged it of them as a favor, *that out of the great number of ſtate Criminals, they would remit Scipio to him:* whom, after he had reſcued from this proſecution, he declared *his Collegue in the Conſulſhip, for the laſt five months of the year*; having firſt made him *his Father in-law* by marrying his daughter, Cornelia. The other Can-

[*p*] Qua humanitate tulit contentionem meam pro Milone, adverſante interdum actionibus ſuis? Quo ſtudio providit, ne quæ me illius temporis invidia attingeret? Cum me conſilio, tum auctoritate, cum armis denique texit ſuis — Ib. 3. 10.

[*q*] Aſcon. Argum. pro Milon.

didate,

didate, Hypſæus, was left to the mercy of the law; and being likely to fare the worſe for Scipio's eſcape, and to be made a ſacrifice to the popular odium, he watched an opportunity of acceſs to Pompey, *as he was coming out of his bath, and throwing himſelf at his feet, implored his protection:* but though he had been his *Quæſtor*, and ever obſequious to his will, yet Pompey is ſaid to have thruſt him away with great haughtineſs and inhumanity, telling him coldly, *that he would onely ſpoil his ſupper by detaining him* [r]. A. Urb. 701: Cic. 55. Coſſ. Cn. Pompeius Magn. III: Q. Cæcilius Metellus Scipio.

Before the end of the year, Cicero had ſome amends for the loſs of his friend Milo, by the condemnation and baniſhment of *Two of the Tribuns*, the common enemies of them both, Q. Pompeius Rufus, and T. Munatius Plancus Burſa, *for the violences of their Tribunate, and burning the Senate-houſe.* As ſoon as their office expired, Cælius accuſed the firſt; and Cicero himſelf the ſecond; the onely cauſe, excepting that of Verres, in which he ever acted the part of *an Accuſer*. But Burſa had deſerved it, both for his public behaviour in his office, and his perſonal injuries to Cicero; who had defended and preſerved him in a former trial. He depended on Pompey's ſaving him; and had no apprehenſion of danger, ſince Pompey under-

[r] Cn. autem Pompeius quam inſolenter? Qui balneo egreſſus, ante pedes ſuos proſtratum Hypſæum ambitus reum & nobilem virum & ſibi amicum, jacentem reliquit, contumelioſa voce proculcatum. Nihil enim eum aliud agere, quam ut convivium ſuum moraretur, reſpondit—Ille vero P. Scipionem, Socerum ſuum, legibus noxium, quas ipſe tulerat, in maxima quidem reorum & illuſtrium ruina, muneris loco a Judicibus depoſcere—Val. Max. 9. 5. it. Plutar. in Pomp.

A. Urb. 701. Cic. 55. Coſſ. CN. POMPEIUS MAGN. III. Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS SCIPIO.

took to plead his cauſe, before Judges of his own appointing; yet by Cicero's vigor in managing the proſecution, he was condemned by an unanimous vote of the whole bench [*s*]. Cicero was highly pleaſed with this ſucceſs, as he ſignifies in a Letter to his friend Marius, which will explane the motives of his conduct in it.

" I know very well, *ſays he*, that you rejoice " at Burſa's fate, but you congratulate me too " coldly: you imagine, you tell me, that for " the ſordidneſs of the man, I take the leſs " pleaſure in it: but believe me, I have more " joy from this ſentence than from the death " of my enemy: for, in the firſt place, I love " to purſue, rather by a trial, than the ſword; " rather with the glory, than the ruin of a " friend; and it pleaſed me extremely, to ſee, " ſo great an inclination of all honeſt men on " my ſide, againſt the incredible pains of one, " the moſt eminent and powerful: and laſtly, " what you will ſcarce think poſſible, I hated " this fellow worſe than Clodius himſelf: for I " had attacked the one, but defended the other: " and Clodius, when the ſafety of the Republic " was riſked upon my head, had ſomething " great, in view, not indeed from his own " ſtrength, but the help of thoſe, who could " not maintain their ground, whilſt I ſtood firm: " but this ſilly Ape, out of a gayety of heart, " choſe me particularly for the object of his in- " vectives; and perſuaded thoſe, who envied " me, that he would be always at their ſervice, " to inſult me at any warning. Wherefore I " charge you to rejoice in good earneſt; for it

[*s*] Plancum, qui omnibus plauſu condemnatus ſententiis maximo veſtro —— Philip. 6. 4.

" is a great victory, which we have won. No
" Citizens were ever ſtouter than thoſe who
" condemned him, againſt ſo great a power of
" one, by whom themſelves were choſen Judges:
" which they would never have done, if they
" had not made my cauſe and grief their own.
" We are ſo diſtracted here by a multitude of
" trials and new laws, that our daily prayer is
" againſt all Intercalations, that we may ſee you
" as ſoon as poſſible [*t*.]"

A. Urb. 701. Cic. 55. Coſſ. CN. POMPEIUS MAGN. III. Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS SCIPIO.

SOON after the death of Clodius, Cicero ſeems to have written *his Treatiſe on laws* [*u*]; after the example of Plato, whom of all writers he moſt loved to imitate: for as Plato, after he had written on government in general, *drew up a body of laws, adapted to that particular form of it, which he had been delineating*; ſo Cicero choſe to deliver his political ſentiments in the ſame method [*x*]; not by tranſlating Plato, but imitating his manner in the explication of them. This work being deſigned then, as a ſupplement, or ſecond volume, to his other upon *the Republic*, was diſtributed probably, as that other was, into *ſix books:* for we meet with ſome quotations among the ancients, from *the fourth and fifth*; though there are but *three* now remaining, and thoſe in ſome places imperfect. In the firſt of theſe, he lays open *the origin of law, and the ſource of obligation*; which he derives from *the univerſal nature of things*, or, as he explanes it, from *the conſummate reaſon or will of the ſupreme*

[*t*] Ep. Fam. 7. 2.

[*u*] Vid. de Legib. 2. 17.

[*x*] Sed ut vir doctiſſimus fecit Plato, atque idem graviſſimus Philoſophorum omnium, qui princeps de Repub. conſcripſit, idemque ſeparatim de legibus ejus, id mihi credo eſſe faciendum — De Legib. 2. 6.

A. Urb. 701. Cic. 55. Coſſ. CN. POMPEIUS MAGN. III. Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS SCIPIO.

God [*y*]: in the other two books, he gives a body of laws conformable to his own plan and idea of a well-ordered City [*z*]: firſt, thoſe which relate *to religion and the worſhip of the Gods*; ſecondly, thoſe which preſcribe *the duties and powers of the ſeveral Magiſtrates*, from which the peculiar form of each government is denominated. Theſe laws are generally taken *from the old conſtitution or cuſtom of Rome* [*a*]; with ſome little variation and temperament, contrived to obviate the diſorders, to which that Republic was liable, and to give it a ſtronger turn towards *the Ariſtocratical ſide* [*b*]: in the other books which are loſt, he had treated, as he tells us, *of the particular rights and privileges of the* Roman *people* [*c*].

POMPEY was preparing *an Inſcription* this ſummer *for the front of the New Temple*, which he had lately built *to Venus the Conquereſs*, containing as uſual, *the recital of all his Titles:* but in drawing it up, a queſtion happened to be ſtarted, *about the manner of expreſſing his third*

[*y*] Hanc igitur video ſapientiſſimorum fuiſſe ſententiam, legem neque hominum ingeniis excogitatam, nec ſcitum aliquod eſſe populorum, ſed æternum quiddam, quod univerſum mundum regeret, imperandi prohibendique ſapientia. Ita principem legem illam & ultimam mentem eſſe dicebant, omnia ratione aut cogentis aut vetantis Dei — Quamobrem lex vera atque princeps—— ratio eſt recta ſummi Jovis. Ib. 2. 4.

[*z*] Non autem quoniam — quæ de optima Repub. ſentiremus, in ſex libris ante diximus, accommodabimus hoc tempore leges ad illum, quem probamus, civitatis ſtatum——Ib. 3. 2.

[*a*] Et ſi quæ forte a me hodie rogabuntur, quæ non ſint in noſtra Repub. nec fuerint, tamen erunt fere in more majorum, qui tum, ut lex, valebat. Ib. 2. 10.

[*b*] Nihil habui; ſane non multum, quod putarem novandum in legibus. Ib. 3. 5.

[*c*] Ib. 3. 20.

Conſulſhip;

Conſulſhip; whether it ſhould be by *Conſul Tertium* or *Tertio*. This was referred to *the principal Critics of Rome*, who could not, it ſeems, agree about it; ſome of them contending for the one, ſome for the other; *ſo that Pompey left it to Cicero*, to decide the matter, and to inſcribe what he thought the beſt. But Cicero being unwilling to give judgement on either ſide, when there were great authorities on both, and Varro among them, adviſed Pompey *to abbreviate the word in queſtion, and order* TERT. *onely to be inſcribed*; which fully declared the thing, without determining the diſpute. From this fact we may obſerve, how nicely exact they were in this age, in preſerving a propriety of language in their public monuments and inſcriptions [*d*]. A. Urb. 701. Cic. 55. Coſſ. CN. POMPEIUS MAGN. III. Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS SCIPIO.

AMONG the other acts of Pompey, in this *third Conſulſhip*, there was a new law againſt bribery, contrived to ſtrengthen the old ones, that were already ſubſiſting againſt it, "by diſqualifying all future Conſuls and Prætors, from "holding any province, till five years after the "expiration of their Magiſtracies:" for this was thought likely to give ſome check to the eagerneſs of ſuing and bribing for thoſe great offices, *when the chief fruit and benefit of them was removed to ſuch a diſtance* [*e*]. But before the law paſſed, Pompey took care to provide an exception for himſelf, "and to get the govern-"ment of Spain continued to him for five years "longer; with an appointment of money for "the payment of his troops:" and left this ſhould give offence to Cæſar, if ſomething alſo

[*d*] This ſtory is told by Tiro, a favorite ſlave and freedman of Cicero, in a Letter preſerved by A. Gellius. l. 10. 1.

[*e*] Dio. p. 142.

A. Urb. 701. Cic. 55. Coſſ. CN. POMPEIUS MAGN. III. Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS SCIPIO.

of an extraordinary kind was not provided for him; he propoſed a law, *to diſpenſe with Cæſar's abſence in ſuing for the Conſulſhip*; of which Cæſar at that time ſeemed very deſirous. Cælius was the promoter of this law, engaged to it by Cicero, *at the joint requeſt of Pompey and Cæſar* [*f*]; and it was carried with the concurrence of all the Tribuns, though not without difficulty and obſtruction from the Senate: but *this unuſual favor, inſtead of ſatisfying Cæſar, ſerved onely*, as Suetonius ſays, *to raiſe his hopes and demands ſtill higher* [*g*].

BY *Pompey's law*, juſt mentioned, it was provided, that for a ſupply of Governors, for the interval "of five years, *in which* the Conſuls "and Prætors were diſqualified, the Senators of "Conſular and Prætorian rank, who had never "held any foreign command, ſhould divide the "vacant Provinces among themſelves by lot:" in conſequence of which, Cicero, who was obliged to take his chance with the reſt, obtained *the Government of Cilicia*, now in the hands of Appius, the late Conſul: this Province included alſo *Piſidia, Pamphilia, and three Dioceſes*, as they were called, *or Diſtricts of Aſia, together with the Iſland of Cyprus*; for the guard of all which, "a ſtanding army was kept up of two "Legions, or about twelve thouſand foot; with "two thouſand ſix hundred horſe [*b*]:" and

[*f*] Rogatus ab ipſo Ravennæ de Cælio Tribuno pleb. ab ipſo autem? Etiam a Cnæo noſtro.—Ad Att. 7. 1.

[*g*] Egit cum Tribunis pleb.——ut abſenti ſibi——petitio ſecundi Conſulatus daretur—Quod ut adeptus eſt, altiora jam meditans & ſpei plenus, nullum largitionis, aut officiorum inquemquam genos publice privatimque omiſit. Suet. J. Cæſ. 26.

[*b*] Ad Att. 5. 15.

thus

thus one of thoſe *Provincial Governments*, which were withheld from others by law, to correct their inordinate paſſion for them, *was, contrary to his will and expectation, obtruded at laſt upon Cicero*; whoſe buſineſs it had been through life to avoid them [*i*].

A. Urb. 701. Cic. 55. Coſſ. CN. POMPEIUS MAGN. III. Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS SCIPIO.

THE City began now to feel the unhappy effects, both *of Julia's and Craſſus's death*, from the mutual apprehenſions and jealouſies, which diſcovered themſelves more and more every day between Pompey and Cæſar: the Senate was generally in Pompey's intereſt; and truſting to the name and authority of ſo great a Leader, were determined to humble the pride and ambition of Cæſar, by recalling him from his government; whilſt Cæſar, on the other hand, truſting to the ſtrength of his troops, reſolved to keep poſſeſſion of it in defiance, of all their votes; and by drawing a part of his forces into *the Italic or Ciſalpine Gaul*, ſo as to be ready at any warning to ſupport his pretenſions, began to alarm all *Italy* with the melancholy proſpect of an approaching *civil war*: and this was the ſituation of affairs, when Cicero ſet forward towards his Government of Cilicia.

[*i*] Cum & contra voluntatem meam & præter opinionem accidiſſet, ut mihi cum imperio in Provinciam proficiſci neceſſe eſſet. Ep. Fam. 3. 2.

SECT. VII.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coſſ. SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS, M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

THIS year opens to us a new ſcene in Cicero's life, and preſents him in a character, which he had never before ſuſtained, *of the Governor of a Province*, and *General of an army*. Theſe preferments were, of all others, the moſt ardently deſired by the great for the advantages which they afforded both of acquiring power, and amaſſing wealth: for their command, though accountable to the Roman people, was abſolute and uncontroulable in the Province; where they kept up the ſtate and pride of ſoverein Princes, and had all the neighbouring Kings paying a court to them, and attending their orders. If their genius was turned to arms, and fond of martial glory, they could never want a pretext for war, ſince it was eaſy to drive the ſubjects into rebellion, or the adjoining nations to acts of hoſtility by their oppreſſions and injuries, till from the deſtruction of a number of innocent people, they had acquired *the Title of Emperor*, and with it the pretenſion to a triumph; without which ſcarce any Proconſul was ever known to return from a remote and frontier province [*a*]. Their opportunities

[*a*] While the ancient diſcipline of the Republic ſubſiſted, no general could pretend to a triumph, who had not enlarged the bounds of the Empire by his conqueſts, and killed at leaſt five thouſand enemies in battle, without any conſiderable loſs of his own ſoldiers. This was expreſsly enacted by an old law: in ſupport of which a ſecond was afterwards provided, that made it penal for any of their triumphant Commanders to give a falſe account of the number of ſlain, either on the enemy's ſide, or their

opportunities of raiſing money were as immenſe as their power, and bounded only by their own appetites: the appointments from the treaſury, for their equipage, plate, and neceſſary furniture, amounted, as appears from ſome inſtances, to near *a hundred and fifty thouſand pounds* [*b*]: and, beſides the revenues of kingdoms, and pay of armies, of which they had the arbitrary management, they could exact what contributions they pleaſed, not onely from the Cities of their own juriſdiction, but from all the ſtates and Princes around them, who were under the protection of Rome. But while their primary care was to enrich themſelves, they carried out with them always a band of hungry friends and dependents, as *their Lieutenants, Tribuns, Præfects*, with a crew of freedmen and favorite ſlaves, who were all likewiſe to be enriched by the ſpoils of the Province, and the ſale of their maſter's favors. Hence flowed all thoſe accuſations and trials for the plunder of the ſubjects, of which we read ſo much in the Roman writers: for as few or none of the Proconſuls behaved themſelves with that exact juſtice, as to leave no room for complaint, ſo the factions of the City, and the quarrels of families, ſubſiſt-

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coſſ. SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS, M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

their own; and obliged them, upon their entrance into the City, to take an oath before the Quæſtors or public Treaſurers, that the accounts, which they had ſent to the Senate, of each number, were true. [Val. Max. 2. 8.] But theſe laws had long been neglected and treated as obſolete; and the honor of a Triumph uſually granted, by intrigue and faction, to every General of any credit, who had gained ſome little advantage againſt Pirates or fugitives, or repelled the incurſions of the wild barbarians, who bordered upon the diſtant provinces.

[*b*] Nonne H S. centies & octagies - quaſi vaſarii nomine--ex ærario tibi attributum, Romæ in quæſtu reliquiſti? in Piſon. 35.

ing

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coſſ. SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS, M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

ing from former impeachments, generally excited ſome or other to revenge the affront in kind, by undertaking the cauſe of an injured Province, and dreſſing up an impeachment againſt their enemy.

BUT whatever benefit or glory this Government ſeemed to offer, it had no charms for Cicero: the thing itſelf *was diſagreeable to his temper* [c], nor worthy of thoſe talents, which were formed to ſit at the helm, and ſhine in the adminiſtration of the whole Republic: ſo that he conſidered it onely as an honorable exil, or a burthen impoſed by his country, to which his duty obliged him to ſubmit. His firſt care therefore was to provide, that this command might not be prolonged to him beyond the uſual term of a year; which was frequently done, when the neceſſities of the Province, the character of the man, the intrigues of parties, or the hurry of other buſineſs at home, left the Senate neither leiſure nor inclination to think of changing the Governor: and this was the more likely to happen at preſent, thro' the ſcarcity of magiſtrates, who were now left capable by the late law of ſucceding him. Before his departure therefore he ſollicited all his friends, not to ſuffer ſuch a mortification to fall upon him; and after he was gone, ſcarce wrote a ſingle letter to *Rome*, without urging the ſame requeſt in the moſt preſſing terms: in his firſt to Atticus, within three days from their parting; *do not imagine*, ſays he, *that I*

[c] Totum negotium non eſt dignum viribus noſtris, qui majore onera in Rep. ſuſtinere & poſſim & ſoleam. Ep. Fam. 2. xi.

O rem minime aptam meis moribus, &c. Ad Att. 5. 10.

Sed eſt incredible, quam me negotii tœdeat, non habet ſatis magnum campum ille tibi non ignotus curſus animi mei.—Ib. 15.

have

have any other conſolation in this great trouble, than the hopes that it will not be continued beyond the year: many, who judge of me by others, do not take me to be in earneſt, but you, who know me, will uſe all your diligence, eſpecially, when the affair is to come on [*d*].

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coſſ. SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS, M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

HE left the City about the firſt of *May*, attended by his Brother and their two Sons: for Quintus had quitted his commiſſion under Cæſar, in order to accompany him into *Cilicia*, in the ſame capacity of *his Lieutenant*. Atticus had deſired him, before he left Italy, to admoniſh his Brother, to ſhew more complaiſance and affection to his wife Pomponia, who had been complaining to him of her huſband's peeviſhneſs and churliſh carriage, and leſt Cicero ſhould forget it, he put him in mind again, by a letter to him on the road, that ſince all the family were to be together in the Country, on this occaſion of his going abroad, he would perſuade Quintus to leave his wife at leaſt in good humour at their parting: in relation to which, Cicero ſends him the following account of what paſſed.

" When I arrived at Arpinum, and my Bro-
" ther was come to me, our firſt and chief diſcourſe
" was on you; which gave me an opportunity
" of falling upon the affair of your Siſter, which
" you and I had talked over together at *Tuſcu-*
" *lum:* I never ſaw any thing ſo mild and mode-
" rate as my Brother was, without giving the
" leaſt hint of his ever having had any real

[*d*] Noli putare mihi aliam conſolationem eſſe hujus ingentis moleſtiæ, niſi quod ſpero non longiorem annua fore. Hoc me ita velle multi non credunt ex conſuetudine aliorum. Tu, qui ſcis, omnem diligentiam adhibebis: tum ſcilicet, cum id agi debebit. Ib. 2.

" cauſe

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coſſ. SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS. M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

" cauſe of offence from her. The next morn-
" ing we left Arpinum; and that day being a
" feſtival, Quintus was obliged to ſpend it at Ar-
" canum, where I dined with him, but went on
" afterwards to Aquinum: You know this Villa
" of his: as ſoon as we came thither, Quintus
" ſaid to his wife, in the civilleſt terms; do you,
" Pomponia, invite the women, and I will ſend
" to the men: (nothing, as far as I ſaw, could
" be ſaid more obligingly, either in his words or
" manner:) to which ſhe replied, ſo as we all
" might hear it, *I am but a ſtranger here myſelf:*
" referring, I gueſs, to my Brother's having ſent
" Statius before us to order the dinner: upon
" which, ſee, ſays my Brother to me, what I am
" forced to bear every day. This, you will ſay,
" was no great matter. Yes, truly, great
" enough to give me much concern; to ſee
" her reply ſo abſurdly and fiercely both in her
" words and looks: but I diſſembled my unea-
" ſineſs. When we ſat down to dinner, ſhe
" would not ſit down with us; and when Quin-
" tus ſent her ſeveral things from the table, ſhe
" ſent them all back: in ſhort, nothing could be
" milder than my Brother, or ruder than your
" Siſter: yet I omit many particulars, which gave
" more trouble to me than to Quintus himſelf.
" I went away to Aquinum; he ſtaid at Arcanum:
" but when he came to me early the next morn-
" ing, he told me, that ſhe refuſed to lye with
" him that night; and at their parting continued
" in the ſame humor, in which I had ſeen her.
" In a word, you may let her know from me,
" that, in my opinion, the fault was all on her
" ſide that day. I have been longer perhaps,
" than was neceſſary, in my narrative, to let you
" ſee,

"ſee, that there is occaſion alſo on your part for "advice and admonition [*e*]." A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coſſ. SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS, M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

ONE cannot help obſerving from this little incident, what is confirmed by innumerable inſtances in the Roman ſtory, that *the freedom of a divorce*, which was indulged without reſtraint at Rome, to the caprice of either party, gave no advantage of comfort to the matrimonial ſtate; but on the contrary, ſeems to have encouraged rather a mutual perverſeneſs and obſtinacy; ſince upon any little diſguſt, or obſtruction given to their follies, the expedient of a change was ready always to flatter them, with the hopes of better ſucceſs in another trial: for there never was an age or country, where there was ſo profligate a contempt and violation of the nuptial bond, or ſo much lewdneſs and infidelity in the Great of both ſexes, as at this time in Rome.

CICERO ſpent a few days as he paſſed forward, at his *Cuman Villa*, near Baiæ, where there was ſuch a reſort of Company to him, *that he had*, he ſays, *a kind of a little Rome about him*: Hortenſius came among the reſt, though much out of health, to pay his compliments, and wiſh him a good voyage, and, at taking leave, when he aſked, *what commands he had for him in his abſence*, Cicero begged of him onely, to uſe all his authority, *to hinder his Government from being prolonged to him* [*f*]. In ſixteen days from Rome, he arrived at Tarentum, where he had

[*e*] Ad Att. 5. 1.

[*f*] In Cumano cum eſſem, venit ad me, quod mihi pergratum fuit, noſter Hortenſius: cui, depoſcenti mea mandata, cætera univerſe mandavi; illud proprie, ne pateretur, quantum eſſet in ipſo, prorogari nobis provinciam.—habuimus in Cumano quaſi puſillam Romam tanta erat in his locis multitudo.—Ib. 2.

promiſed

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promiſed to make a viſit to Pompey, who was taking the benefit of that ſoft air, for the recovery of his health, at one of his Villa's in thoſe parts; and had invited and preſſed Cicero to ſpend ſome days with him upon his journey: they propoſed great ſatisfaction on both ſides from this interview, for the opportunity of conferring together with all freedom, on the preſent ſtate of the Republic, which was to be their ſubject: though Cicero expected alſo to get ſome leſſons of the military kind, from this renowned Commander. He promiſed Atticus an account of this Conference; but the particulars being too delicate to be communicated by Letters, he acquainted him onely in general, *that he found Pompey an excellent Citizen, and provided for all events, which could poſſibly be apprehended* [g].

AFTER *three days ſtay with Pompey*, he proceded to Brundiſium; where he was detained for *twelve days by a ſlight indiſpoſition*, and the expectation of his principal officers, particularly *of his Lieutenant Pontinius*, an experienced Leader, the ſame who had triumphed over *the Allobroges*; and on whoſe ſkill he chiefly depended in his martial affairs. From Brundiſium, he ſailed to Actium, *on the fifteenth of June*; whence partly by ſea, and

[g] Nos Tarenti, quos cum Pompeio διαλόγους de Repub. habuerimus ad te perſcribemus — Ib. 5.

Tarentum veni a. d. xv Kal. Jun. quod Pontinium ſtatueram expectare, commodiſſimum duxi dies eos cum Pompeio conſumere: eoque magis, quod ei gratum eſſe id videbam, qui etiam a me petierit, ut ſecum & apud ſe eſſem quotidie: quod conceſſi libenter multos enim ejus præclaros de Repub. ſermones accipiam: inſtruar etiam conſiliis idoneis ad hoc noſtrum negotium. — Ib. 6.

Ego, cum triduum cum Pompeio & apud Pompeium fuiſſem, proficiſcebar Brundiſium. — Civem illum egregium relinquebam, & ad hæc, quæ timentur, propulſanda paratiſſimum. — Ib. 7.

and partly by land, he arrived at *Athens on the twenty-ſixth* [*b*]. Here he lodged in the houſe of Ariſtus, the principal profeſſor of *the Academy:* and his Brother not far from him, with Xeno, another celebrated Philoſopher of Epicurus's School: they ſpent their time here very agreeably; at home, in Philoſophical diſquiſitions; abroad, in viewing the buildings and antiquities of the place, with which Cicero was much delighted: there were ſeveral other men of learning, both Greeks and Romans, of the party; eſpecially Gallus Caninius and Patro, an eminent Epicurean, and intimate friend of Atticus [*i*].

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coſſ. SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS, M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

THERE lived at this time in exil at Athens, C. Memmius, baniſhed upon a conviction of bribery, in his ſuit for the conſulſhip; who, the day before Cicero's arrival, happened to go away to Mitylene. The figure, which he had born in Rome, gave him authority in Athens; and *the council of Areopagus* had granted him a piece of ground to build upon, where *Epicurus formerly lived, and where there ſtill remained the old ruins of his walls.* But this grant had given great offence to the whole body of *the Epicureans*, to ſee the remains of their maſter in danger of being deſtroyed. They had written to Cicero at Rome, to beg him to intercede with Memmius, to conſent to a revocation of it; and now at Athens, Xeno and Patro renewed their inſtances, and prevailed with him to write about it, in the moſt effectual manner; for tho' Memmius had

[*b*] Ad Att. 5. 8, 9.

[*i*] Valde me Athenæ delectarunt: urbs duntaxat, & urbis ornamentum, & hominum amores in te, & in nos quædam benevolentia; ſed multum & Philoſophia — ſi quid eſt, eſt in Ariſto apud quem eram, nam Xenonem tuum — Quinto conceſſeram —Ad Att. 5. x. Ep. Fam. 2. 8. 13. 1.

laid

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coſſ. SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS, M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

laid aſide his deſign of building, *the Areopagites would not recall their decree without his leave* [*k*]. Cicero's letter is drawn with much art and accuracy; he laughs at the trifling zeal of theſe Philoſophers, *for the old rubbiſh and paultry ruins of their Founder, yet earneſtly preſſes Memmius, to indulge them in a prejudice, contracted through weakneſs, not wickedneſs*; and though he profeſſes an utter diſlike of their Philoſophy, yet he recommends them, *as honeſt, agreeable, friendly men*, for whom he entertained the higheſt eſteem [*l*]. From this letter one may obſerve, that the greateſt difference in Philoſophy made no difference of friendſhip among the great of theſe times. There was not a more declared enemy to *Epicurus's doctrine*, than Cicero: he thought it deſtructive of morality, and pernicious to Society; but he charged this conſequence to the principles, not the Profeſſors of them; with many of whom he held the ſtricteſt intimacy; and found them to be worthy, virtuous, generous friends, and lovers of their Country: there is a jocoſe Letter to Trebatius, when he was with Cæſar *in Gaul*, upon his turning Epicurean, which will help to confirm this reflection.

CICERO *to* TREBATIUS.

"I was wondering, why you had given over "writing to me; till Panſa informed me, that

[*k*] Viſum eſt Xenoni, & poſt, ipſi Patroni, me ad Memmium ſcribere, qui pridie quam ego Athenas veni, Mitylenas profectus erat, — non enim dubitabat Xeno, quin ab Areopagitis invito Memmio impetrari non poſſet. Memmius autem ædificandi conſilium abjeciſſet, ſed erat Patroni iratus, itaque ſcripſi ad eum accurate—Ad Att. 5. 11.

[*l*] Ep. Fam. 13. 1.

" you were turned Epicurean. O rare Camp! A. Urb. 702.
" what would you have done if I had ſent you Cic. 56.
" to Tarentum inſtead of Samerobriva? I began Coſſ.
" to think the worſe of you, ever ſince you SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS,
" made my friend Seius your pattern. But with M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.
" what face will you now pretend to practiſe the
" Law, when you are to do every thing for your
" own intereſt, and not for your Client's? and
" what will become of that old form, and teſt
" of fidelity; *as true men ought to act truly, with*
" *one another?* what Law would you alledge for
" the diſtribution of common right, when no-
" thing can be common with thoſe who mea-
" ſure all things by their pleaſure? with what
" face can you ſwear by Jupiter; when Jupiter,
" you know, can never be angry with any man?
" and what will become of your people of *Ulu-*
" *bræ*; ſince you do not allow a wiſe man to
" meddle with politics? wherefore if you are
" really gone off from us, I am ſorry for it;
" but if it be convenient to pay this compliment
" to Panſa, I forgive you; on condition how-
" ever, that you write me word what you are
" doing, and what you would have me do for
" you here [*m*]." The change of principles in Trebatius, though equivalent in effect to a change of Religion with us, made no alteration in Cicero's affection for him. This was the dictate of reaſon to the beſt and wiſeſt of the Heathens; and may ſerve to expoſe the raſhneſs of thoſe zealots, who, with the light of a moſt divine and benevolent religion, are perpetually inſulting and perſecuting their fellow Chriſtians, for differences of opinion, which for the moſt part are merely ſpeculative, and without any influence on life, or the good and happineſs of civil Society.

[*m*] Ep. Fam. 7. 12.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coſſ. SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS, M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

AFTER *ten days* ſpent at Athens, where Pontinius at laſt joined him, Cicero ſet ſail towards Aſia. Upon leaving Italy, he had charged his friend Cælius with the taſk of ſending him the news of Rome; which Cælius performed very punctually, in a ſeries of Letters, which make a valuable part in the collection of his *familiar Epiſtles:* they are polite and entertaining; full of wit and ſpirit; yet not flowing with that eaſy turn, and elegance of expreſſion, which we always find in Cicero's. The firſt of them, with Cicero's anſwer, will give us a ſpecimen of the reſt.

M. CÆLIUS *to* M. CICERO.

"ACCORDING to my promiſe at parting, to "ſend you an account of all the news of the "Town, I have provided one to collect it for "you ſo punctually, that I am afraid, leſt you "ſhould think my diligence at laſt too minute: "but I know how curious you are; and how "agreeable it is to all, who are abroad, to be "informed of every thing that paſſes at home, "though ever ſo trifling. I beg of you, however, "not to condemn me of arrogance, for deputing "another to this taſk: ſince, as buſy as I now "am, and as lazy as you know me to be in "writing, it would be the greateſt pleaſure to "me, to be employed in any thing that revives "the remembrance of you: but the pacquet it-"ſelf, which I have ſent, will, I imagine, rea-"dily excuſe me; for what leiſure would it re-"quire, not only to tranſcribe, but to attend "even to the contents of it? there are all the "decrees of the Senate, Edicts, plays, rumors: "if the ſample does not pleaſe you, pray let me "know it, that I may not give you trouble, at "my

" my coſt. If any thing important happens in A. Urb. 702.
" the republic, above the reach of theſe hack- Cic. 56.
" ney writers, I will ſend you an account of it Coſſ.
" myſelf; in what manner it was tranſacted; SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS,
" what ſpeculations are raiſed upon it; what ef- M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.
" fects apprehended: at preſent there is no
" great expectation of any thing: as to thoſe ru-
" mors, which were ſo warm at *Cumæ*, of aſ-
" ſembling the Colonies beyond the *Po*, when I
" came to *Rome*, I heard not a ſyllable about
" them. Marcellus too, becauſe he has not yet
" made any motion for a ſucceſſor to the two
" *Gauls*, but puts it off, as he told me himſelf,
" to the firſt of *June*, has revived the ſame talk
" concerning him, which was ſtirring when we
" were at *Rome* together. If you ſaw Pompey,
" as you deſigned to do, pray ſend me word in
" what temper you found him; what converſa-
" tion he had with you; what inclination he
" ſhewed; for he is apt to think one thing, and
" ſay another, yet has not wit enough to con-
" ceal what he really means. As for Cæſar,
" there are many ugly reports about him; but
" propagated onely in whiſpers: ſome ſay, that
" he has loſt all his horſe; which I take indeed
" to be true: others, that the ſeventh Legion
" has been beaten; and that he himſelf is be-
" ſieged by the *Bellovaci*; and cut off from the
" reſt of his army. There is nothing yet cer-
" tain; nor are theſe uncertain ſtories publicly
" talked of; but among the few, whom you
" know, told openly, by way of ſecrets: Do-
" mitius never mentions them, without clap-
" ping his hand to his mouth. On the twenty-
" firſt of *May*, the mob under the Roſtra, ſent
" about a report, (may it fall on their own heads)
" which was warmly propagated through the

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coſſ. SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS, M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

" Forum and the whole City, that you were " killed upon the road by Q. Pompeius: but I, " who knew him to be then at *Bauli*, and in ſuch " a ſtarving condition, that I could not help pi- " tying him, being forced to turn Pilot for his " bread, was not concerned about it; and wiſhed " onely, that if any real dangers threatened you, " we might be quit for this lie: your friend " Plancus Burſa is at Ravenna; where he has " had a large donative from Cæſar; but is not " yet eaſy, nor well provided. Your books on " government are applauded by all people [*n*].

M. T. CICERO, Proconſul, to M. CÆLIUS.

" How! was it this, think you, that I charged " you with; to ſend me the matches of Gladia- " tors; the adjournments of cauſes; and Chreſ- " tus's news-letter; and what nobody dares men- " tion to me when at Rome? See, how much I " aſcribe to you in my judgement: nor indeed " without reaſon, for I have never yet met with " a better head for politics; I would not have " you write what paſſes every day in public, " though ever ſo important, unleſs it happen to " affect myſelf: others will write it; many bring " accounts of it; and fame itſelf conveys a great " part to me: I expect from you, neither the " paſt, nor the preſent; but as from one, who " ſees a great way before him, the future onely; " that when I have before me in your Letters " the plan of the Republic, I may be able to " judge what a ſort of Edifice it will be. Nor " have I hitherto indeed any cauſe to complain " of you; for nothing has yet happened, which

[*n*] Epiſt. Fam. 8. 1.

" you

" you could foreſee better than any of us; eſpe- A. Urb. 702.
" cially myſelf, who ſpent ſeveral days with Cic. 56.
" Pompey, in converſing on nothing elſe, but Coſſ.
" the Republic; which is neither poſſible nor SERV. SUL-
" proper for me to explane by Letter: take this PICIUS RU-
" onely from me; that Pompey is an excellent FUS,
" Citizen, prepared both with courage and M. CLAU-
" counſil for all events, which can be foreſeen: DIUS MAR-
" wherefore, give yourſelf up to the man; be- CELLUS.
" lieve me, he will embrace you; for he now
" holds the ſame opinion with us, of good and
" bad Citizens. After I had been ten days at
" Athens, where our friend Gallus Caninius was
" much with me, I left it on the ſixth of July,
" when I ſent away this Letter: as I earneſtly
" recommend all my affairs to you, ſo nothing
" more particularly, than that the time of my
" Provincial Command be not prolonged: this
" is every thing to me; which, when and how,
" and by whom it is to be manged, you will
" be the beſt able to contrive. Adieu [*o*]."

HE landed at *Epheſus* on *the twenty-ſecond of July*, after a ſlow but ſafe paſſage of *fifteen days*; the tedioufneſs of which was agreeably relieved by touching on the way at ſeveral of *the iſlands of the Ægean Sea*, of which he ſends a kind of journal to Atticus [*p*]. Many deputations from the Cities of Aſia, and a great concourſe of people came to meet him as far as Samos; but a much greater ſtill was expecting his landing at Epheſus: the Greeks flocked eagerly from all parts, to ſee a man ſo celebrated through the empire, for the fame of his learning and eloquence; ſo *that all his boaſtings*, as he merrily ſays, *of many years*

[*o*] Ep. Fam. 2. 8. d. xi. Kal. Sext.—Ad Att. 5
[*p*] Epheſum venimus a. 13. vid. it. ib. 12.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coſſ. SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS, M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

paſt, were now brought to the teſt [q]. After repoſing himſelf for *three days* at Epheſus, he marched forward towards his Province; and, on the laſt of July, arrived at Laodicea, one of the Capital Cities of his Juriſdiction. From this moment the date of his Government commenced; which he bids Atticus take notice of, that he might know how *to compute the preciſe extent of his annual term* [r.]

IT was Cicero's reſolution, in this Provincial Command, to practiſe thoſe admirable rules, which he had drawn up formerly for his Brother; and from an employment wholly tedious and diſagreeable to him to derive freſh glory upon his character, by leaving the innocence and integrity of his adminiſtration, as a pattern of governing to all ſucceding Proconſuls. It had always been the cuſtom, when any Governors went abroad to their Provinces, *that the Countries, through which they paſſed, ſhould defray all the charges of their journey:* but Cicero no ſooner ſet his foot on foreign ground, *than he forbad all expence whatſoever, public or private, to be made either upon himſelf, or any of his company*; which raiſed a great admiration of him, *in all the cities of Greece* [s]. In

[q] De concurſu legationum, privatorum, & de incredibili multitudine, quæ mihi jam Sami, ſed mirabilem in modum Epheſi præſto fuit, aut te audiſſe puto —— ex quo te intelligere certo ſcio multorum annorum oſtentationes meas nunc in diſcrimen eſſe adductas —— Ib. 13.

[r] Laodiceam veni prid. Kal. Sextiles. Ex hoc die clavum anni movebis. Ib. 15.

[s] Ego – quotidie meditor, præcipio meis; faciam denique ut ſumma modeſtia & ſumma abſtinentia munus hoc extraordinarium traducamus. — Ib. 9.

Adhuc ſumptus nec in me aut publice aut privatim, nec in quemquam comitum. Nihil acciptur lege Julia, nihil ab hoſpite, perſuaſum eſt omnibus meis ſerviendum eſſe famæ meæ. Belle adhuc. Hoc

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coſſ. SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS, M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

In Aſia he did the ſame; not ſuffering his officers to accept *what was due to them even by law; forage and wood for firing, nor any thing elſe, but mere houſe-room, with four beds*; which he remitted alſo, as oft as it was practicable, and obliged them *to lodge in their tents*; and by his example and conſtant exhortations brought *his Lieutenants, Tribuns, and Præfects, ſo fully into his meaſures, that they all concurred with him*, he ſays, *wonderfully, in a jealous concern for his honor* [*t*].

BEING deſirous to put himſelf at the head of his army, before the Seaſon of action was over, he ſpent but little time in viſiting the Cities of his juriſdiction, reſerving *the winter months for ſettling the civil affairs of the Province* [*u*]. He went therefore to the Camp, *at Iconium in Lycaonia, about the twenty-fourth of Auguſt*; where he had no ſooner reviewed the troops, than he received an account from *Antiochus, King of Comagene*, which was confirmed from the other Princes of thoſe parts, *that the Parthians had paſſed the Euphrates with a mighty force, in order to invade the Roman territory under the conduct of Parcorus, the*

Hoc animadverſum Græcorum laude & multo ſermone celebratur. Ib. 10.

Nos adhuc iter per Græciam ſumma cum admiratione fecimus. Ib. 11.

[*t*] Levantur miſeræ civitates, quod nullus ſit ſumptus in nos, neque in Legatos, neque in Quæſtorem, neque in quemquam. Scito, non modo nos fœnum, aut quod lege Julia dari ſolet non accipere, ſed ne ligna quidem, nec præter quatuor lectos, & tectum, quemquam accipere quidquam; multis locis ne tectum quidem, & in tabernaculo manuere plerumque—Ad Att. 5. 16.

Ut nullus teruncius inſumatur in quemquam; id ſit etiam & Legatorum & Tribunorum & Præfectorum diligentia. Nam omnes mirifice συμφιλοδοξεῖν gloriæ meæ —Ib. 17.

[*u*] Erat mihi in animo recta proficiſci ad exercitum, æſtivos menſes reliquos rei militari dare, hibernos juriſdictioni—Ib. 14.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coſſ. SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS, M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

King's ſon. Upon this news, he marched towards *Cilicia*, to ſecure his province from the inroads of the enemy, or any commotions within; but as all acceſs to it was difficult, except on the ſide of Cappadocia, an open country, and not well provided; he took his rout through that Kingdom, and encamped in that part of it which *bordered upon Cilicia, near to the town of Cybiſtra, at the foot of mount Taurus.* His army, as it is ſaid above, conſiſted of about *twelve thouſand foot, and two thouſand ſix hundred horſe*, beſides the auxiliary troops of the neighbouring ſtates, and eſpecially of *Deiotarus, King of Galatia*, the moſt faithfull *Ally of Rome*, and Cicero's particular friend; whoſe whole forces he could depend upon at any warning [x].

WHILE he lay in this Camp, he had an opportunity of executing a ſpecial commiſſion, with which he was charged by the Senate; *to take Ariobarzanes, King of Cappadocia, under his particular protection*; and provide for the ſecurity of his perſon and government: in honor of whom, the Senate had decreed, what they had never done before to any foreign prince, that *his ſafety was of great concern to the Senate and people of*

[x] In caſtra veni a. d. vii. Kal. Sept. ad d. iii. exercitum luſtravit. Ex his caſtris cum graves de Parthis nuncii venirent, perrexi in Ciliciam, per Cappadociæ partem eam, quæ Ciliciam attingit——

Regis Antiochi Comageni Legatis primi mihi nunciarunt Parthorum magnas copias Euphratem tranſire cœpiſſe.——Cum exercitum in Ciliciam ducerem—mihi litteræ redditæ ſunt a Tarcondimoto, qui fideliſſimus ſocius trans Taurum Populi Rom. exiſtimatur. Pacorum Orodi Regis Parthorum filium, cum permagno equitatu tranſiſſe Euphratem, &c. Ep. Fam. 15. 1.

Eodem die ab Jamblicho, Phylarcho Arabum—litteræ de eiſdem rebus, &c.

Rome.

Rome. His Father had been killed by the treachery of his ſubjects, and a conſpiracy of the ſame kind was apprehended againſt the ſon: Cicero therefore, in a council of his officers, gave the King an account of *the Decree of the Senate*, and that in conſequence of it he was then ready to aſſiſt him with his troops and authority in any meaſures that ſhould be concerted for the ſafety and quiet of his kingdom—The King, after great profeſſions of his thanks, and duty to the Senate for the honor of *their decree*, *and to* Cicero himſelf for his care in the execution of it, ſaid, *that he knew no occaſion for giving him any particular trouble at that time*; *nor had any ſuſpicion of any deſign againſt his life or Crown:* upon which Cicero, after congratulating him upon the tranquillity of his affairs, adviſed him however, *to remember his Father's fate*, *and*, *from the admonition of the Senate*, *to be particularly vigilant in the care of his perſon*, and ſo they parted. But the next morning the King returned early to the Camp, attended by his Brother and Counſellors, and with many tears implored the protection of Cicero, *and the benefit of the Senate's decree*, declaring, "that he had received undoubted intelligence of "a plot, which thoſe, who were privy to it, "durſt not venture to diſcover till Cicero's arri- "val in the Country, but truſting to his autho- "rity, had now given full information of it; "and that his Brother, who was preſent, and "ready to confirm what he ſaid, had been ſolli- "cited to enter into it by the offer of the crown: "he begged therefore, that ſome of Cicero's "troops might be left with him for his better "guard and defence. Cicero told him, that un- "der the preſent alarm of the Parthian war, he "could not poſſibly lend him any part of his ar- "my;

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coſſ. SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS, M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

A. Urb. 702. Ol. 56. Coss. SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS; M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

"my; that, ſince the conſpiracy was detected, "his own forces would be ſufficient for preventing the effects of it; that he ſhould learn to "act the King, by ſhewing a proper concern for "his own life, and exert his regal power in puniſhing the authors of the plot, and pardoning "all the reſt; that he need not apprehend any "farther danger, when his people were acquainted with the Senate's decree, and ſaw a *Roman* "army ſo near to them, and ready to put it in "execution:" and having thus encouraged and comforted the King, he marched towards *Cilicia*, and gave an account of this accident, and of the motions of the *Parthians*, in *two public Letters to the Conſuls and the Senate*: he added a private Letter alſo to Cato, who was a particular favorer, and Patron of Ariobarzanes, in which he informed him, "that he had not onely ſecured the King's "perſon from any attempt, but had taken care, "that he ſhould reign for the future with honor "and dignity, by reſtoring to his favor and ſervice his old Counſellors, whom Cato had recommended, and who had been diſgraced by "the intrigues of his Court; and by obliging a "turbulent young prieſt of *Bellona*, who was "the head of the Malecontents, and the next "in power to the King himſelf, to quit the country [*y*]."

THIS King, Ariobarzanes, ſeems to have been poor even to a proverb:

Mancipiis locuples, egit æris Cappadocum rex.
Hor. Ep. I. 6.

for he had been miſerably ſqueezed and drained by the *Roman* Generals and Governors: to whom

[*y*] Ep. Fam. 15. 2, 3, 4.

he

he owed vaſt ſumms, either actually borrowed, or ſtipulated to be paid for particular ſervices. It was a common practice with the Great of *Rome*, *to lend money at an exorbitant intereſt, to the Princes and Cities, dependent on the Empire*; which was thought an uſefull piece of policy to both ſides; to the Princes, for the opportunity of engaging to their intereſts the moſt powerfull men of the Republic, by a kind of honorable penſion; to the *Romans*, for the convenience of placing their money where it was ſure to bring the greateſt return of profit. The ordinary intereſt of theſe Provincial loans was, *one per Cent. by the month, with intereſt upon intereſt:* this was the loweſt; but, in extraordinary or hazardous caſes, it was frequently four times as much. Pompey received monthly from this very King, *above ſix thouſand pounds ſterling*; which yet was ſhort of his full intereſt. Brutus alſo had lent him a very large ſumm, and earneſtly deſired Cicero to procure the payment of it, with the arrears of intereſt: but Pompey's agents were ſo preſſing, and the King ſo needy, that though Cicero ſollicited Brutus's affair very heartily, he had little hopes of getting any thing for him: when Ariobarzanes came therefore to offer him the ſame preſent of money, which he had uſually made to every other Governor, he generouſly refuſed it, and deſired onely, *that inſtead of giving it to him, it might be paid to Brutus:* but the poor Prince was ſo diſtreſſed, that he excuſed himſelf, by the neceſſity, which he was under, of ſatisfying ſome other more preſſing demands; ſo that Cicero gives a ſad account of his negotiation, in a long letter to Atticus, who had warmly recommended Brutus's intereſts to him.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coſſ. SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS, M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

" I come

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coſſ. SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS, M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

" I come now, ſays he, to Brutus; whom by
" your authority I embraced with inclination,
" and began even to love: but——what am I
" going to ſay? I recall myſelf, leſt I offend
" you — do not think, that I ever entered in-
" to any thing more willingly, or took more
" pains, than in what he recommended to me.
" He gave me a memorial of the particulars,
" which you had talked over with me before:
" I purſued your inſtructions exactly: in the firſt
" place, I preſſed Ariobarzanes to give that mo-
" ney to Brutus, which he promiſed to me: as
" long as the King continued with me, all things
" looked well, but he was afterwards teized by
" ſix hundred of Pompey's agents; and Pompey,
" for other reaſons, can do more with him than
" all the world beſides; but eſpecially, when it
" is imagined, that he is to be ſent to the Par-
" thian war: they now pay Pompey thirty-three
" Attic talents per month, out of the taxes, tho'
" this falls ſhort of a month's intereſt: but our
" friend Cnæus takes it calmly; and is content
" to abate ſomething of the intereſt, without
" preſſing for the principal. As for others, he
" neither does, nor can pay any man: for he
" has no treaſury, no revenues: he raiſes taxes
" by Appius's method of capitation: but theſe
" are ſcarce ſufficient for Pompey's monthly pay:
" two or three of the king's friends are very
" rich; but they hold their own as cloſely, as
" either you or I—I do not forbear however to aſk,
" urge and chide him by Letters: King Deiota-
" rus alſo told me, that he had ſent people to
" him on purpoſe, to ſollicit for Brutus; but
" they brought him word back, that he had real-
" ly no money: which I take indeed to be the
" caſe; that nothing is more drained than his
" kingdom;

" kingdom; nothing poorer than the King [z]." A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coſſ. SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS, M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

BUT Brutus had recommended another affair of the ſame nature to Cicero, which gave him much more trouble. The City of *Salamis* in *Cyprus* owed to two of his friends, as he pretended, Scaptius and Matinius, above *twenty thouſand pounds ſterling* upon bond, at a moſt extravagant intereſt; and he begged of Cicero to take their perſons and concerns under his ſpecial protection. Appius, who was Brutus's father-in-law, had granted every thing which was aſked to Scaptius; *a Præfecture in Cyprus, with ſome troops of horſe*, with which he miſerably haraſſed the poor Salaminians, in order to force them to comply with his unreaſonable demands; for *he ſhut up their whole ſenate in the council-room, till five of them were ſtarved to death with hunger* [a]. Brutus labored to place him in the ſame degree of favor with Cicero: but Cicero being informed of this violence at Epheſus, *by a deputation from Salamis*, made it the firſt act of his government to recall the troops from Cyprus, and put an end to Scaptius's Præfecture, having laid it down for a rule, to grant no command to any man *who was concerned in trade, or negotiating money* in the Province: to give ſatisfaction however to Brutus, he injoined *the Salaminians to pay off Scaptius's bond*, which they were ready to do according to the tenor of his edict, by which he had ordered, *that no bonds in his province ſhould carry above one per Cent. by the month.* Scaptius refuſed to take the money on thoſe terms, inſiſting *on four per cent.* as the condition of his bond expreſſed; which by

[z. Ad Att. 6. 1.

[a] Fuerat enim Præfectus Appio, & quidem habuerat turmas Equitum, quibus incluſum in curia ſenatum Salamine obſederat, ut fame ſenatores quinque morerentur, —ibid.

computation

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coſſ. SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS, M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

computation almoſt doubled the principal ſumm; while the Salaminians, as they proteſted to Cicero, *could not have paid the original debt, if they had not been enabled to do it by his help, and out of his own dues, that he had remitted to them; which amounted to ſomewhat more than Scaptius's legal demand* [*b*].

THIS extortion raiſed Cicero's indignation; and notwithſtanding the repeated inſtances of Brutus and Atticus, he was determined to over-rule it; though Brutus, in order to move him the more effectually, thought proper to confeſs, *what he had all along diſſembled, that the debt was really his own, and Scaptius onely his agent in it* [*c*]. This ſurprized Cicero ſtill more, and though he had a warm inclination to oblige Brutus, yet he could not conſent to ſo flagrant an injuſtice, but makes frequent and heavy complaints of it in his letters to Atticus——"You have now, ſays he, in one "of them, the ground of my conduct; if Bru- "tus does not approve it, I ſee no reaſon "why we ſhould love him; but I am ſure, it "will be approved by his uncle, Cato [*d*]." In

[*b*] Itaque ego, quo die tetigi provinciam, cum mihi Cyprii Legati Epheſum obviam veniſſent, litteras miſi ut equites ex inſula ſtatim decederent—ad Att. 6. 1. conferam, ut ſolverent centeſimis—ad Scaptius quaternas poſtulabat—ib. homines non modo non recuſare, ſed etiam dicere, ſe a me ſolvere. Quod enim Prætori dare conſuescent, quoniam ego non acceperam, ſe a me quodam modo dare; atque etiam minus eſſe aliquanto in Scaptii nomine, quam in vectigali prætorio——ib. 5. 21.

[*c*] Atque hoc tempore ipſo impingit mihi epiſtolam Scaptius Bruti, rem illam ſuo periculo eſſe: quod nec mihi unquam Brutus dixerat nec tibi—ib. nunquam ex illo audivi illam pecuniam eſſe ſuam—ib.

[*d*] Habes meam cauſam: quæ ſi Bruto non probatur, neſcio cur illum amemus: ſed avunculo ejus certe probabitur.—Ib. 5. 21.

another;

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coſſ. SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS, M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

another; "If Brutus thinks that I ought to allow him four per Cent. when by edict I have decreed but one through all the province, and that to the ſatisfaction of the keeneſt uſurers; if he complains, that I denied a Præfecture to one, concerned in trade, which I denied, for that reaſon, to your friend Lenius, and to Sex. Statius, though Torquatus ſollicited for the one, and Pompey himſelf for the other, yet without diſguſting either of them; if he takes it ill, that I recalled the troops of horſe out of Cyprus; I ſhall be ſorry indeed, that he has any occaſion to be angry with me; but much more, not to find him the man that I took him to be—I would have you to know however, that I have not forgot what you intimated to me in ſeveral of your Letters, that if I brought back nothing elſe from the province but Brutus's friendſhip, that would be enough: let it be ſo, ſince you will have it ſo; yet it muſt always be with this exception; as far as it can be done, without my committing any wrong——[e]." In a third; "How, my dear Atticus! you who applaud my integrity and good conduct, and are vexed ſometimes, you

[e] Si Brutus putabit me quaternas centeſimas oportuiſſe decernere, qui in tota provincia ſingulas obſervarem, itaque edixiſſem, idque etiam acerbiſſimis fœneratoribus probaretur; ſi præfecturam negotiatori denegatam queretur, quod ego Torquato noſtro in tuo Lenio, Pompeio ipſi in S. Statio negavi, & iis probavi; ſi equites deductos moleſte feret; accipiam equidem dolorem, mihi illum iraſci, ſed multo majorem, non eſſe eum talem, qualem putaſſem——Sed plane te intelligere volui, mihi non excidiſſe illud, quod tu ad me quibuſdam litteris ſcripſiſſes, ſi nihil aliud de hac Provincia niſi illius benevolentiam deportaſſem, mihi id ſatis eſſe. Sit ſane, quoniam ita tu vis ſed tamen cum eo credo, quod ſine peccato meo fiat—Ibid.

"ſay,

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coſſ. SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS, M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

"ſay, that you are not with me; how can ſuch "a thing, as Ennius ſays, come out of your "mouth, to deſire me to grant troops to Scaptius, for the ſake of extorting money? could "you, if you were with me, ſuffer me to do it, "if I would?" — if I really had done ſuch a "thing, with what face could I ever read again, "or touch thoſe books of mine, with which you "are ſo much pleaſed [*f*]?" He tells him likewiſe in confidence, that all Brutus's Letters to him, even when he was aſking favors, *were unmannerly, churliſh, and arrogant; without regarding either what, or to whom he was writing; and if he continued in that humor; you may love him alone*, ſays he, *if you pleaſe, you ſhall have no rival of me; but he will come, I believe, to a better mind* [*g*]. But to ſhew, after all, what a real inclination he had to oblige him, he never left urging *King Ariobarzanes, till he had ſqueezed from him a hundred talents, in part of Brutus's debt, or about twenty thouſand pounds*; the ſame ſumm probably, which had been deſtined to Cicero himſelf [*b*].

WHILE

[*f*] Ain' tandem Attice, laudator integritatis & elègantiæ noſtræ? auſus es hoc ex ore tuo, inquit Ennius, ut equites Scaptio ad pecuniam cogendam darem, me rogare? an tu, ſi mecum eſſes, qui ſcribis morderi te interdum quod non ſimul ſis, paterere me id facere, ſi vellem? — & ego audebo legere unquam, aut attingere eos libros, quos tu dilaudas? ſi tale quid fecero—ad Att. 6. 2.

[*g*] Ad me etiam, cum rogat aliquid, contumaciter, arroganter, ἀκοινωνήτως ſolet ſcribere —— ib. 6. 1.

Omnino (ſoli enim ſumus) nullus unquam ad me literas miſit Brutus—in quibus non eſſet arrogans, ἀκοινωνήτον aliquid—in quo tamen ille mihi riſum magis quam ſtomachum movere ſolet. Sed plane parum cogitat, quid ſcribat, aut ad quem—ib. 6. 3.

[*b*] Bruti tui cauſa, ut ſæpe ad te ſcripſi, feci omnia —Ariobarzanes non in Pompeium

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coſſ. SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS, M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

WHILE he lay encamped in Cappadocia, expecting what way the Parthians would move, he received an account, that they had taken a different rout, and were advanced to Antioch in Syria, where they held C. Caſſius blocked up; and that a detachment of them had actually penetrated into *Cilicia*, *but were routed, and cut off by thoſe troops, which were left to guard the Country.* Upon this he preſently decamped, and by *great journies over mount Taurus*, marched in all haſte to poſſeſs himſelf *of the paſſes of Amanus*; a great and ſtrong mountain, lying between Syria and Cilicia, and the common boundary of them both. By this march, and the approach of his army to the neighbourhood of Syria, the Parthians being diſcouraged, retired from Antioch; which gave Caſſius an opportunity *of falling upon them in their retreat, and gained a conſiderable advantage, in which one of their principal commanders, Oſaces, was mortally wounded* [*i*].

IN the ſuſpenſe of the *Parthian* war, which the late diſgrace of Craſſus had made terrible at *Rome*, Cicero's friends, who had no great opinion of his military talents, were in ſome pain for his ſafety and ſucceſs: but now that he found himſelf engaged, and puſhed to the neceſ-

peium prolixior per ipſum, quam per me in Brutum — pro ratione pecuniæ liberius eſt Brutus tractatus, quam Pompeius. Bruto curata hoc anno talenta circiter c. Pompeio in ſex menſibus promiſſa cc.—— ibid.——

[*i*] Itaque confeſtim iter in Ciliciam feci per Tauri pylas. Tarſum veni a. d. III. Non. Oct. inde ad Amanum contendi, qui Syriam a Cilicia in aquarum divortio dividit – rumore adventus noſtri, & Caſſio, qui Antiochia tenebatur, animus acceſſit, & Parthis timor injectus eſt. Itaque eos cedentes ab oppido Caſſius inſecutus rem bene geſſit. Qua in fuga magna auctoritate Oſaces, dux Parthorum, vulnus accepit, eoque interiit paucis poſt diebus. Ad Att. 5. 20.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coſſ. SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS, M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

ſity of acting the General, he ſeems to have wanted neither the courage nor conduct of an experienced Leader. In a Letter to Atticus, dated from his Camp; "We are in great ſpirits, ſays "he, and as our counſils are good, have no "diſtruſt of an engagement: we are ſecurely encamped, with plenty of proviſions, and in "ſight almoſt of Cilicia; with a ſmall army indeed, but, as I have reaſon to believe, intirely well affected to me; which I ſhall double "by the acceſſion of Deiotarus, who is upon the "road to join me: I have the allies more firmly "attached to me, than any Governor ever had: "they are wonderfully taken with my eaſineſs "and abſtinence; we are making new levies of "Citizens, and eſtabliſhing magazines: if there "be occaſion for fighting, we ſhall not decline "it; if not, ſhall defend ourſelves by the "ſtrength of our poſts: wherefore be of good "heart, for I ſee as much as if you were with "me, the ſympathy of your love for me [*k*]."

BUT the danger of the Parthians being over for this ſeaſon, Cicero reſolved, that his labor ſhould not be loſt, and his army diſmiſſed, without attempting ſomething of moment. The inhabitants of the mountains, cloſe to which he now lay, were a fierce, untamed race of Banditti or Freebooters, who had never ſubmitted to the Roman power, but lived in perpetual defiance of it, truſting to their forts and caſtles, which were ſuppoſed to be impregnable from the ſtrength of their ſituation. He thought it therefore of no ſmall importance to the Empire, to reduce them to a ſtate of ſubjection; and, in order to conceal his deſign, and take them unprovided, he drew off his forces

[*k*] Ib. 5. 18.

on

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coſſ. SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS, M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

on pretence of marching to the diſtant parts of Cilicia; but after a day's journey ſtopt ſhort, and having refreſhed his army, and left his baggage behind, turned back again in the night with the utmoſt celerity, and reached Amanus *before day on the thirteenth of October*. He divided his troops among his four Lieutenants, and himſelf, accompanied by his Brother, led up one part of them, and ſo coming upon the natives by ſurprize, they eaſily killed or made them all priſoners: they took *ſix ſtrong forts, and burned many more*; but the Capital of the mountain, *Erana*, made a brave reſiſtance, *and held out from break of day, to four in the afternoon*. Upon this ſucceſs *Cicero was ſaluted Emperor*, and ſat down again at the foot of the hills, where he ſpent *five days* in demoliſhing the other ſtrong holds, and waſting the lands of theſe Mountaineers. In this place his troops were lodged in the *ſame Camp which Alexander the Great had formerly uſed, when he beat Darius at Iſſus; and where there remained three Altars, as the monument of his victory, which bore his name to that day:* a circumſtance, which furniſhed matter for ſome pleaſantry, in his Letters to his friends at Rome [*l*].

[*l*] Qui mons erat hoſtium plenus ſempiternorum. Hic a. d. III. idus Octob. magnum numerum hoſtium occidimus. Caſtella munitiſſima, nocturno Pontinii adventu, noſtro matutino cepimus, incendimus. Imperatores appellati ſumus. Caſtra paucos dies habuimus, ea ipſa, quæ contra Darium habuerat apud Iſſum Alexander, Imperator haud paullo melior, quam aut tu aut ego. Ibi dies quinque morati, direpto & vaſtato Amano, inde diſceſſimus.—Ad Att. 5. 20.

Expedito exercitu ita noctu iter feci, ut ad III. Id. Octob. cum luciſceret, in Amanum aſcenderem, diſtributiſque cohortibus & auxiliis, cum aliis Quintus frator Legatus, mecum ſimul, aliis C. Pontinius Legatus, reliquis M. Anneius, & M. Tullius Legati

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coſſ. SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS, M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

FROM Amanus, he led his army to another part of the High-lands, the moſt diſaffected to the Roman name, poſſeſſed by a ſtout and free people, who had never been ſubject even *to the King of that Country*. Their chief Town was called Pindeniſſum, ſituated on a ſteep and craggy hill, ſtrongly fortified by nature and art, and provided with every thing neceſſary for defence: it was the conſtant refuge of all deſerters, and the harbour of foreign enemies, and at that very time was expecting, and prepared to receive the Parthians: Cicero, reſolving therefore to chaſtiſe their inſolence, and bring them under the Roman yoke, laid ſiege to it in form; and though he puſhed it on with all imaginable vigor, and a continual battery of his Engines, yet it coſt him *above ſix weeks* to reduce it to the neceſſity *of ſurrendering at diſcretion*. The inhabitants were *ſold for ſlaves*, and when Cicero was writing the account from his Tribunal, he had already raiſed about *a hundred thouſand pounds by that ſale: all the other plunder, excepting the horſes, was given to the ſoldiers*. In his letter upon it to Atticus, *the Pindeniſſians*, ſays he, *ſurrendered to me on the Saturnalia, after a ſiege of ſeven-and-forty days: but what, the plague, will you ſay, are theſe Pindeniſſians? I never heard of their name before —— How can I help that? could I turn Cilicia into Æ-*

Legati præeſſent: pleroſque nec opinantes oppreſſimus — Eranam autem, quæ fuit non vici inſtar, ſed urbis, quod erat Amani caput — acriter & diu repugnantibus, Pontinio illam partem Amani tenente, ex antelucano tempore uſque ad horam diei decimam, magna multitudine hoſtium occiſa, cepimus, caſtellaque ſex capta: complura incendimus. His rebus ita geſtis, caſtra in radicibus Amani habuimus apud aras Alexandri quatriduum: & in reliquiis Amani delendis, agriſque vaſtandis — id tempus omne conſumſimus —— Ep. Fam. 15. 4. vid. ibid. 2. 10.

tolia

tolia or Macedonia? take this however for certain, that no man could do more, than I have done, with such an army, &c. [*m*]. After this action, another neighbouring nation, *of the same spirit and fierceness, called Tiburani, terrified by the fate of Pindenissum, voluntarily submitted, and gave hostages*; so that Cicero sent his army into winter quarters under the *command of his Brother, into those parts of the province, which were thought the most turbulent* [*n*]. A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coss. SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS, M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

WHILE he was engaged in this expedition, Papirius Pætus, an eminent wit and Epicurean, with whom he had a particular intimacy and correspondence of facetious Letters, sent him some military instructions in the way of raillery; to which Cicero answered in the same jocose manner: "Your Letter, says he, has made me a "complete commander: I was wholly ignorant "before of your great skill in the art of war; but

[*m*] Confectis his rebus ad Oppidum Eleutherocilicum. Pindenissum, exercitum adduxi: quod cum esset altissimo & munitissimo loco, ab iisque incoleretur, qui ne Regibus quidem unquam paruissent: cum & fugitivos reciperent, & Parthorum adventum acerrime expectarent: ad existimationem imperii pertinere arbitratus sum comprimere eorum audaciam —— vallo & fossa circumdedi, sex castellis, castrisque maximis sepsi, aggere, vineis, turribus oppugnavi, ususque tormentis multis, multis sagittariis, magno labore meo, septimo quadragesimo die rem confeci — Ep. Fam. 15. 4.

Qui (malum) isti Pindenissæ? qui sunt? inquies: nomen audivi nunquam. Quid ego faciam? potui Ciliciam, Ætoliam, aut Macedoniam reddere? hoc jam sic habeto, nec hoc exercitu hic tanta negotia geri potuisse. — &c. — ad Att. 5. 20.

Mancipia vænibant Saturnalibus tertiis, cum hæc scribebam in tribunali, res erat ad H. S. cxx. Ib. —

[*n*] His erant finitimi pari scelere & audacia *Tiburani*: ab his, Pindenisso capto, obsides accepi, exercitum in hiberna dimisi. Q. Fratrem negotio præposui, ut in vicis aut captis aut malo pacatis exercitus collocaretur. Ep. Fam. 15. 4.

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"perceive, that you have read Pyrrhus and Cineas. Wherefore I intend to follow your precepts, and withal, to have ſome ſhips in readineſs on the coaſt; for they deny that there can be any better defence againſt the Parthian horſe. But raillery apart: you little think, what a General you have to deal with: for in this government, I have reduced to practice, what I had worn out before with reading, the whole inſtitution of Cyrus, *&c.* [*o*]" Theſe martial exploits ſpread Cicero's fame into Syria, where Bibulus was juſt arrived to take upon him the Command; but kept himſelf cloſe within the gates of Antioch, *till the Country was cleared of all the Parthians:* his envy of Cicero's ſucceſs, and title of EMPEROR, made him impatient to purchaſe the ſame honor by the ſame ſervice, *on the Syrian ſide of the mountain Amanus:* but he had the misfortune to be repulſed in his attempt, with the intire loſs of *the firſt Cohort, and ſeveral officers of diſtinction*, which Cicero *calls an ugly blow both for the time and the effect of it* [*p*].

THOUGH Cicero had obtained what he calls *a juſt victory at Amanus*, and, in conſequence of it, *the appellation of Emperor*, which he aſſumed from this time; *yet he ſent no public account of it to* Rome, *till after the affair of Pindeniſſum*, an exploit of more eclat and importance; for which he expected *the honor of a Thankſgiving*, and began to entertain hopes even of a Triumph. His public Letter is loſt, but that loſs is ſupplied by a particular

[*o*] Ep. Fam. 9. 25.

[*p*] Erat in Syria noſtrum nomen in gratia. Venit interim Bibulus. Credo voluit appellatione hac inani nobis eſſe par. In eodem Amano cœpit laureolam in muſtaceo quærere. At ille cohortem primam totam perdidit—— ſane plagam odioſam acceperat tum re tum tempore.—— Ad Att. 5. 20.

ticular narrative of the whole action in a private Letter to Cato: the deſign of paying this compliment to Cato, was to engage his vote and concurrence to the *decree of the Supplication*; and by the pains, which he takes to obtain it, where he was ſure of gaining his point without it, ſhews the high opinion which he had of Cato's authority, and how deſirous he was to have the teſtimony of it on his ſide. But Cato was not to be moved from his purpoſe by compliment, or motives of friendſhip: he was an enemy by principle to all decrees of this kind, and thought them beſtowed too cheaply, and proſtituted to occaſions unworthy of them: ſo that when Cicero's Letters came under deliberation, though he ſpoke with all imaginable honor and reſpect of Cicero, and highly extolled both his *civil and military adminiſtration, yet he voted againſt the Supplication*; which was decreed however without any other diſſenting voice, except that of Favonius, who loved always to mimic Cato, and of Hirrus, who had a perſonal quarrel with Cicero: yet when the vote was over, *Cato himſelf aſſiſted in drawing up the decree, and had his name inſerted in it*; which was the uſual mark of a particular approbation of the thing, and friendſhip to the perſon in whoſe favor it paſſed [*q*]. But Cato's anſwer to Cicero's Letter will ſhew the temper of the

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[*q*] Nunc publicè litteras Romam mittere parabam. Uberiores erunt, quam ſi ex Amano miſiſſem. Ibid.

Deinde de Triumpho, quem video, niſi Reipub. tempora impedient, ἀπορίζω —— ad Att. 7. 1.

Ei porro aſſenſus eſt unus, familiaris meus Favonius; alter iratus Hirrus. Cato autem & ſcribendo affuit—ib.

Res ipſa declarat, tibi illum honorem ſupplicationis jucundum fuiſſe, quod ſcribendo affuiſti. Hæc enim Senatus conſulta non ignoro ab amiciſſimis ejus, cujus de honore agitur, ſcribi ſolere. Ep. Fam. 15. 6.

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man, and the grounds on which he acted on this occaſion.

M. Cato to M. T. Cicero, Emperor.

"IN compliance with what both the Repub-
"lic and our private friendſhip require of me, I
"rejoice that your virtue, innocence, diligence,
"approved in the greateſt affairs, exerts itſelf
"every-where with equal vigor; at home in the
"gown, abroad in arms. I did all therefore,
"that I could do, agreeably to my own judge-
"ment, when, in my vote and ſpeech, I aſcrib-
"ed to your innocence and good conduct the
"defence of your province, the ſafety of the
"kingdom and perſon of Ariobarzanes; the re-
"covery of the allies to their duty and affection
"to our Empire. I am glad, however, that a
"Supplication is decreed; if, where chance had
"no part, but the whole was owing to your con-
"ſummate prudence and moderation, you are
"better pleaſed, that we ſhould hold ourſelves
"indebted to the Gods, than to you. But if you
"think that a Supplication will pave the way
"to a Triumph, and for that reaſon chuſe, that
"fortune ſhould have the praiſe, rather than
"yourſelf; yet a Triumph does not always fol-
"low a Supplication, and it is much more ho-
"norable than any Triumph, for the Senate to
"decree, that a Province is preſerved to the
"Empire by the mildneſs and innocence of the
"General, rather than by the force of arms,
"and the favor of the Gods. This was the pur-
"poſe of my vote; and I have now employed
"more words, than it is my cuſtom to do, that
"you might perceive, what I chiefly wiſh to teſti-
"fy, how deſirous I am to convince you, that in
"regard to your glory, I had a mind to do what

"I

" I took to be the moſt honorable for you; yet " rejoice to ſee that done which you are the " moſt pleaſed with. Adieu, and ſtill love me; " and agreeably to the courſe, which you have " begun, continue your integrity and diligence " to the allies, and the Republic [*r*].

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CÆSAR was delighted to hear of Cato's ſtiffneſs, in hopes that it would create a coldneſs between him and Cicero; and in *a congratulatory Letter to Cicero*, upon the ſucceſs of his arms, and *the Supplication* decreed to him, took care to aggravate *the rudeneſs and ingratitude of Cato* [*s*]. Cicero himſelf was highly diſguſted at it; eſpecially when Cato ſoon afterwards *voted a Supplication to his Son-in-law, Bibulus, who had done much leſs to deſerve it. Cato*, ſays he, *was ſhamefully malicious; he gave me what I did not aſk, a character of integrity, juſtice, clemency; but denied me what I did—yet this ſame man voted a Supplication of twenty days to Bibulus: pardon me, if I cannot bear this uſage*—[*t*] yet as he had a good opinion of Cato in the main, and a farther ſuit to make to the Senate, in the demand of a Triumph, he choſe to diſſemble his reſentment, and returned him a civil anſwer, to ſignify his ſatisfaction and thanks for what he had thought fit to do [*u*].

CICERO's campaign ended juſt ſo, as Cælius had wiſhed in one of his Letters to him; *with fighting enough to give a claim to the laurel; yet*

[*r*] Ep. Fam. 15. 5.

[*s*] Itaque Cæſar iis litteris, quibus mihi gratulatur, & omnia pollicetur, quo modo exultat Catonis in me ingratiſſimi injuria; ad Att. 7. 2.

[*t*] Aveo ſcire—Cato quid agat: qui quidem in me turpiter fuit malevolus. Dedit integritatis, juſtitiæ, clementiæ, fidei teſtimonium, quod non quærebam, quod poſtulabam, negavit—at hic idem Bibulo dierum viginti. Ignoſce mihi, non poſſum hæc ferre—ibid.—

[*u*] Ep. Fam. 15. 6.

without

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without the riſk of a battle with the Parthians [x]. During theſe months of action, he ſent away *the two young Cicero's*, the ſon and nephew, to King Deiotarus's *court, under the conduct of the King's ſon, who came on purpoſe to invite them:* they were kept ſtrictly to their books and exerciſes, and made great proficiency in both; *though the one of them*, as Cicero ſays, *wanted the bit, the other the ſpur: their Tutor* Dionyſius attended them, *a man of great learning and probity, but*, as his young pupils complained, *horribly paſſionate* [y]. Deiotarus himſelf was ſetting forward to join Cicero with all his forces, upon the firſt news of the *Parthian irruption:* he had with him *thirty cohorts, of four hundred men each, armed, and diſciplined after the Roman manner, with two thouſand horſe:* but *the Parthian alarm* being over, Cicero ſent Couriers to meet him on the road, in order to *prevent his marching to no purpoſe, ſo far from his own dominion* [z]: the old King however ſeems to have brought the children back

[x] Ut optaſti, ita eſt; velles enim, ais, tantummodo ut haberem negotii quod eſſet ad laureolam ſatis. Parthos times, quia diffidis copiis noſtris. Ep. Fam. 2. 10. 8. 5.

[y] Cicerones noſtros Deiotarus filius, qui Rex a Senatu appellatus eſt, ſecum in regnum. Dum in æſtivis nos eſſemus, illum pueris locum eſſe belliſſimum duximus. Ad Att. 5. 17.

Cicerones pueri amant inter ſe, diſcunt, exercentur: ſed alter—frænis eget, alter calcaribus — Dionyſius mihi quidem in amoribus eſt. Pueri autem aiunt cum furenter iraſci. Sed homo nec doctior, nec ſanctior fieri poteſt. Ib. 6. 1.

[z] Mihi tamen cum Deiotaro convenit, ut ille in meis caſtris eſſet cum omnibus ſuis copiis, habet autem cohortes quadringenarias noſtra armatura triginta; equitum duo millia—ib.

Deiotarum confeſtim jam ad me venientem cum magno & firmo equitatu & peditatu & cum omnibus ſuis copiis, certiorem feci, non videri eſſe cauſam cur abeſſet a regno—— Ep. Fam. 15. 4.

again in perſon, for the opportunity of paying his compliments, and ſpending ſome time with his friend; for, by what Cicero intimates, they appear to have had an interview [*a*]. A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coſſ. SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS, M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

THE remaining part of Cicero's Government was employed in the civil affairs of the Province: where his whole care was to eaſe the ſeveral cities and diſtricts of that exceſſive load of debts, in which the avarice and rapaciouſneſs of former governors had involved them. He laid it down for the fixt rule of his adminiſtration, not to ſuffer *any money to be expended either upon himſelf or his officers:* And when one of his Lieutenants, L. Tullius, in paſſing through the country, *exacted onely the forage and firing, which was due by law; and that but once a day, and not, as all others had done before, from every Town and Village through which they paſſed,* he was much out of humor, and could not help complaining of it, *as a ſtain upon his Government, ſince none of his people beſides had taken even a ſingle farthing.* All the wealthier Cities of the Province uſed to pay to all their Proconſuls large contributions *for being exempted from furniſhing winter-quarters to the army:* Cyprus alone paid yearly on this ſingle account *two hundred talents, or about forty thouſand pounds:* but Cicero remitted this whole tax to them, which alone made a vaſt revenue; and applied all the cuſtomary perquiſites of his office to the relief of the oppreſſed Province: yet for all his ſervices and generoſity, which amazed the poor people, he would accept no honors, but what were merely verbal; prohibiting all expenſive monuments, *as Statues, Temples, brazen horſes,* &c. which,

[*a*] Deiotarus mihi narravit, &c. ad Att. 6. 1. 5. 21.

by

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by the flattery of Aſia, uſed to be erected of courſe to all Governors, though ever ſo corrupt and oppreſſive. While he was upon his viſitation of the Aſiatic Diſtricts, there happened to be a kind of famine in the country; yet where-ever he came, he not only provided for his family at his own expence, but prevailed with the Merchants and Dealers, who had any quantity of corn in their ſtore-houſes, *to ſupply the people with it on eaſy terms* [*b*]; living himſelf, all the while, *ſplendidly and hoſpitably, and keeping an open table, not onely for all the Roman officers, but the Gentry of the Province* [*c*]. In the following Letter to Atticus, he gives him a ſummary view of his manner of governing.

"I ſee, ſays he, that you are much pleaſed "with my moderation and abſtinence; but you "would be much ſo, if you were with me; "eſpecially at Laodicea; where I did wonders at

[*b*] Cave putes quicquam homines magis unquam eſſe miratos, quam nullum teruncium, me obtinente provinciam, ſumtus factum eſſe, nec in Remp. nec in quemquam meorum, præterquam in L. Tullium, Legatum. Is cæteroqui abſtinens (ſed Julia lege tranſitans, ſemel tamen in diem, non ut alii ſolebant omnibus vicis) facit ut mihi excipiendus ſit, cum teruncium nego ſumtus factum. Præter eum accepit nemo. Has ſordes a noſtro Q. Titinnio accepimus — ad Att. 5. 21.

Civitates locupletes, ne in hiberna milites reciperent, magnas pecunias dabant. Cyprii talenta Attica cc. Qua ex inſula (non ὑπερβολικῶς ſed veriſſime loquor) nummus nullus me obtinente erogabitur. Ob hæc beneficia, quibus obſtupeſcunt, nullos honores mihi, niſi verborum, decerni ſino. Statuas, fana, τεθρίππα, prohibeo — ib.

Fames, quæ erat in hac mea Aſia, mihi optanda fuerit. Quacunque iter feci, nulla vi, — auctoritate & cohortatione perfeci, ut & Græci & Cives Romani, qui frumentum compreſſerant, magnum numerum populis pollicerentur — ib.

[*c*] Ita vivam, ut maximos ſumptus facio. Mirifice delector hoc inſtituto. Ad Att. 5. 15.

"the

" the ſeſſions, which I have juſt held, for the " affairs of the Dioceſes, from the thirteenth of " February to the firſt of May. Many cities are " wholly freed from all their debts; many great- " ly eaſed; and all, by being allowed to govern " themſelves by their own laws, have recovered " new life. There are two ways, by which I " have put them into a capacity of freeing, or " of eaſing themſelves at leaſt of their debts; " the one is by ſuffering no expence at all to be " made on the account of my government. " When I ſay none at all, I ſpeak not hyperbo- " lically; there is not ſo much as a farthing: it " is incredible to think, what relief they have " found from this ſingle article. The other is " this; their own Greek Magiſtrates had ſtrange- " ly abuſed and plundered them. I examined " every one of them, who had born any office " for ten years paſt: they all plainly confeſſed; " and, without the ignominy of a public con- " viction, made reſtitution of the money, which " they had pillaged: ſo that the people, who " had paid nothing to our farmers for the preſent " Luſtrum, have now paid the arrears of the " laſt, even without murmuring. This has " placed me in high favour with the Publicans, " a grateful ſet of men, you'll ſay: I have really " found them ſuch—the reſt of my juriſdiction " ſhall be managed with the ſame addreſs; and " create the ſame admiration of my clemency " and eaſineſs. There is no difficulty of acceſs " to me, as there is to all other Provincial Go- " vernors; no introduction by my Chamber- " lain: I am always up before day, and walking " in my Hall, with my doors open, as I uſed " to do, when a Candidate at Rome: this is " great and gracious here; though not at all " troubleſom

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"troubleſom to me, from my old habit and "diſcipline—&c." [*d*].

THIS method of governing gave no ſmall umbrage to Appius; who conſidered it as a reproach upon himſelf, and ſent ſeveral querulous Letters to Cicero, becauſe he had reverſed ſome of his conſtitutions: "And no wonder, ſays Cicero, that he is diſpleaſed with my manner, for "what can be more unlike, than his adminiſtration and mine? under him the Province was "drained by expences and exactions; under me, "not a penny levied for public or private uſe: "what ſhall I ſay of his Præfects, attendants, "Lieutenants? of their plunders, rapines, injuries? whereas now, there is not a ſingle family governed with ſuch order, diſcipline, and "modeſty, as my Province. This ſome of Appius's friends interpret ridiculouſly; as if I was "taking pains to exalt my own character, in "order to depreſs his; and doing all this, not "for the ſake of my own credit, but of his diſgrace [*e*]." But the truth was, that from the time of his reconciliation with Appius, he had a ſincere deſire to live on good terms with him; as well out of regard to the ſplendor of his birth and fortunes, as to his great alliances; for one of his daughters was married to Pompey's ſon, and another to Brutus [*f*]: ſo that,

[*d*] Ib. 6. 2.

[*e*] Quid enim poteſt eſſe tamen diſſimile, quam illo imperante, exhauſtam eſſe ſumptibus & jacturis provinciam, nobis eam obtinentibus, nummum nullum eſſe erogatum nec privatim nec publicè, &c. —ib. 6. 1.

[*f*] Ego Appium, ut tecum ſæpe locutus ſum, valde diligo. Meque ab eo diligi ſtatim cœptum eſſe, ut ſimultatem depoſuimus, ſenſi—jam me Pompeii totum eſſe ſcis: Brutum a me amari intelligis. Quid eſt cauſæ, cur mihi non in optatis eſt complecti

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that, though their principles and maxims were totally different, yet he took care to do every thing with the greateſt profeſſions of honor and reſpect towards Appius, even when he found it neceſſary to reſcind his decrees; conſidering himſelf onely, he ſays, *as a ſecond Phyſician called in to a caſe of ſickneſs, where he found it neceſſary to change the method of cure, and when the Patient had been brought low by evacuations, and blood-letting, to apply all kinds of lenitive and reſtoring medicines* [*g*].

As ſoon as the Government of Cilicia was allotted to him, he acquainted Appius with it by Letter, begging of him, *that, as no man could ſucceed to it with a more friendly diſpoſition than himſelf, ſo Appius would deliver up the Province to him, in ſuch a condition, as one friend would expect to receive it from another* [*h*]: in anſwer to which, Appius, having intimated ſome deſire of an interview, Cicero took occaſion to preſs it with much earneſtneſs, as a thing of great ſervice to them both; and that it might not be defeated, gave him an account of all his ſtages and motions, and offered to regulate them in ſuch a manner, *as to make the place of their meeting the*

plecti hominem, florentem ætate, opibus, honoribus, ingenio, liberis, propinquis affinibus, amicis. —— Ep. Fam. 2. 13.

[*g*] Ut ſi Medicus, cum ægrotus alii medico traditus ſit, iraſci velit ei medico, qui ſibi ſucceſſerit, ſi quæ ipſe in curando conſtituerit, mutet ille. Sic Appius, cum ἐξ ἀφαιρέσεως provinciam curarit, ſanguinem miſerit, &c. ad Att. 6. 1.

[*h*] Cum contra voluntatem meam — accidiſſet, ut mihi cum imperio in Provinciam ire neceſſe eſſet — hæc una conſolatio occurrebat, quod neque tibi amicior, quam ego ſum, quiſquam poſſet ſuccedere, neque ego ab ullo provinciam accipere, qui mallet eam mihi quam maxime aptam explicatamque tradere, &c. Ep. Fam. 3. 2.

moſt

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moſt agreeable to Appius's convenience: but Appius being diſguſted by the firſt edicts which Cicero publiſhed, reſolved for that reaſon to diſappoint him; and *as Cicero advanced into the Province, retired ſtill to the remoter parts of it*, and contrived to come upon him at laſt ſo ſuddenly, that Cicero had not warning enough given *to go out and meet him*; which Appius laid hold of, as a freſh ground of complaint againſt Cicero's pride, for refuſing that common piece of reſpect to him [*i*].

THIS provoked Cicero to expoſtulate with him, with great ſpirit——"I was informed, ſays "he, by one of my Apparitors, that you com- "plained of me for not coming out to meet you: "I deſpiſed you, it ſeems, ſo as nothing could "be prouder —— when your ſervant came to me "near midnight, and told me, that you would "be with me at *Iconium* before day, but could "not ſay, by which road, when there were "two; I ſent out your friend Varro by the one, "and Q. Lepta, the Commander of my Artil- "lery, by the other, with inſtructions to each "of them, to bring me timely notice of your "approach, that I might come out in perſon to "meet you. Lepta came running back preſently "in all haſte to acquaint me, that you had already "paſſed by the Camp; upon which I went di- "rectly to *Iconium*, where you know the reſt. "Did I then refuſe to come out to you? to Ap- "pius Claudius; to an Emperor; then, ac- "cording to ancient cuſtom: and above all

[*i*]—me libenter ad eam partem provinciæ primum eſſe venturum, quo te maxime velle arbitrarer, &c.—ib. 5. Appius noſter, cum me adventare videt, profectus eſt Tarſum uſque Laodiceâ—ad Att. 5. 17.

to

" to my friend? I, who of all men am apt to do more in that way than becomes my dignity? but enough of this. The ſame man told me likewiſe, that you ſaid, What! Appius went out to meet Lentulus; Lentulus to Appius; but Cicero would not come out to Appius. Can you then be guilty of ſuch impertinence? a man, in my judgement, of the greateſt prudence, learning, experience; and I may add politeneſs too, which the Stoics rightly judge to be a virtue? do you imagine, that your Appius's and Lentulus's are of more weight with me than the ornaments of virtue? before I had obtained thoſe honors, which, in the opinion of the world, are thought to be the greateſt, I never fondly admired thoſe names of yours: I looked indeed upon thoſe, who had left them to you, as great men; but after I had acquired, and born the higheſt Commands, ſo as to have nothing more to deſire, either of honor or glory, I never indeed conſidered myſelf as your ſuperior, but hoped, that I was become your equal: nor did Pompey, whom I prefer to all men, who ever lived, nor Lentulus, whom I prefer to myſelf, think otherwiſe: if you however are of a different opinion, it will do you no harm to read with ſome attention what Athenodorus ſays on this ſubject, that you may learn wherein true nobility conſiſts. But to return to the point: I deſire you to look upon me, not onely as your friend, but a moſt affectionate one: it ſhall be my care by all poſſible ſervices to convince you, that I am truly ſo: but if you have a mind to let people ſee, that you are leſs concerned for my intereſt, in my abſence, than

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A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coſſ. SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS, M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

" my pains for yours deſerved, I free you from " that trouble;

" *For I have friends enough to ſerve and love*
" *Both me and mine, and above all Great Jove.*
Ib. 1. 174.

" but if you are naturally querulous, you ſhall " not ſtill hinder my good offices and wiſhes for " you: all that you will do, is to make me leſs " ſollicitous how you take them. I have writ- " ten this with more than my uſual freedom, " from the conſciouſneſs of my duty and affec- " tion, which being contracted by choice and " judgement, it will be in your power to preſerve, " as long as you think poper. Adieu [*k*]."

CICERO's Letters to Appius make one book of *his familiar Epiſtles*, the greateſt part of which are of the expoſtulatory kind, on the ſubject of their mutual jealouſies and complaints: in this ſlippery ſtate of their friendſhip, an accident happened at Rome, which had like to have put an end to it. His daughter Tullia, after parting from her ſecond huſband Craſſipes, as it is probably thought, *by divorce* [*l*], was married in her father's abſence to a third, P. Cornelius Dolabella: ſeveral parties had been offered to her, and among them Ti. Claudius Nero, who afterwards married Livia, whom Auguſtus took away from him: *Nero made his propoſals to Cicero in Cilicia*, who referred him to the women, to whom he had left the

[*k*] Ep. Fam. 3. 7.

[*l*] What confirms this notion is, that Craſſipes appears to have been alive at this time, and under Cicero's diſpleaſure: who mentions him as the only Senator, beſides Hirrus, to whom he did not think fit to write about the affair of his *Supplication*. Ad Att. 7. 1.

management

management of that affair: but before thoſe overtures reached them, they had made up the match with Dolabella, *being mightily taken with his complaiſant and obſequious addreſs* [*m*]. He was a noble man of *Patrician deſcent, and of great parts and politeneſs*; but of a violent, daring, ambitious temper, warmly attached to Cæſar; and by a life of pleaſure and expence, which the prudence of Tullia, it was hoped, would correct, greatly diſtreſſed in his fortunes; which made Cicero very uneaſy, when he came afterwards to know it [*n*]. Dolabella, at the time of his marriage, for which he made way alſo *by the divorce of his firſt wife* [*o*], gave a proof of his enterpriſing genius, by impeaching Appius Claudius, *of practices againſt the ſtate, in his government of Cilicia, and of bribery and corruption in his ſuit for the Conſulſhip.* This put a great difficulty upon Cicero, and made it natural to ſuſpect, that he privately favored the impeachment, where *the Accuſer was his ſon-in-law:* but in clearing himſelf of it to Appius, though he diſſembled a little

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coſſ. SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS, M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

[*m*] Ego dum in provincia omnibus rebus Appium orno, ſubito ſum factus accuſatoris ejus ſocer — ſed crede mihi nihil minus putaram ego, qui de Ti. Nerone, qui mecum egerat, certos homines ad mulieres miſeram, qui Romam venerunt factis ſponſalibus. Sed hoc ſpero melius. Mulieres quidem valde intelligo delectari obſequio & comitate adoleſcentis. — Ad Att. 6. 6.

[*n*] Gener eſt ſuavis—— quantumvis vel ingenii, vel humanitatis; ſatis. Reliqua quæ noſti ferenda. Ad Att. 7. 3.

Dolabellam a te gaudeo primum laudari, deinde etiam amari. Nam ea quæ ſperas Tulliæ mea prudentia poſſe temperari, ſcio cui tuæ epiſtolæ reſpondeant. Ep. Fam. 2. 15. it. 8. 13.

Hac oblectabar ſpecula, Dolabellam meum fore ab iis moleſtiis, quas libertate ſua contraxerat, liberum—ib. 16.

[*o*] Illud mihi occurrit, quod inter poſtulationem, & nominis delationem uxor a Dolabella diſceſſit—Ib. 8. 6.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coſſ. SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS, M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

perhaps in diſclaiming any part or knowledge of that match, yet he was very ſincere, in profeſſing himſelf an utter ſtranger to the impeachment, and was in truth greatly diſturbed at it. But as from the circumſtance of his ſucceding to Appius in his Government, he was of all men the moſt capable of ſerving or hurting him at the trial; ſo Pompey, who took great pains to ſkreen Appius, was extremely deſirous to engage him on their ſide, *and had thoughts of ſending one of his ſons to him for that purpoſe:* but Cicero ſaved them that trouble, by declaring early and openly for Appius, and promiſing every thing from the Province that could poſſibly be of ſervice to him; which he thought himſelf obliged to do the more forwardly, *to prevent any ſuſpicion of treachery to his friend, on the account of his new alliance* [*p*]: ſo that Appius, inſtead of declining a trial, contrived to bring it on as ſoon as he could; and with that view, having dropt his pretenſions to a Triumph, entered the City, and offered himſelf to his Judges, before his Accuſer was prepared for him, and was acquitted without any difficulty of both the indictments.

IN a little time after his trial he was choſen *Cenſor*, together with Piſo, *Cæſar's father-in-law*, the laſt who bore that office during the freedom of the Republic. *Clodius's law*, mentioned a-

[*p*] Pompeius dicitur valde pro Appio laborare, ut etiam putent alterutrum de filiis ad te miſſurum. Ibid.——

Poſt hoc negotium autem & temeritatem noſtri Dolabellæ deprecatorem me pro illius periculo præbeo—Ib. 2. 13.

Tamen hac mihi affinitate nunciata, non majore equidem ſtudio, ſed acrius, apertius, ſignificantius dignitatem tuam defendiſſem—nam ut vetus noſtra ſimultas antea ſtimulabat me, ut caverem ne cui ſuſpicionem ficte reconciliatæ gratiæ darem: ſic affinitas novam curam affert cavendi. Ib. 3. 12.

bove,

bove, which had greatly reſtrained the power of theſe Magiſtrates, was repealed the laſt year by Scipio, the Conſul, and their ancient authority reſtored to them [*q*], which was now exerciſed with great rigor by Appius: who though really a libertin, and remarkable for indulging himſelf in all the luxury of life, yet by an affectation of ſeverity, hoped to retrieve his character, and paſs for an admirer of that ancient diſcipline, for which many of his anceſtors had been celebrated. Cælius gives a pleaſant account of him to Cicero; "Do you know, ſays he, that the Cenſor Ap- "pius is doing wonders amongſt us, about ſta- "tues and pictures, the number of our acres, "and the payment of debts? he takes the Cen- "ſorſhip for ſoap or nitre, and thinks to ſcour "himſelf clean with it; but he is miſtaken; for "while he is laboring to waſh out his ſtains, he "opens his very veins and bowels, and lets us "ſee him the more intimately: run away to us "by all the Gods, to laugh at theſe things: "Druſus ſits Judge upon Adultery, by the "Scantinian law: Appius on ſtatues and pic- "tures [*r*]." But this vain and unſeaſonable attempt of reformation, inſtead of doing any good, ſerved onely *to alienate people from Pompey's cauſe*, with whom Appius was ſtrictly allied: whilſt his Collegue Piſo, who foreſaw that effect, choſe to ſit ſtill, and ſuffer him to *diſgrace*

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coſſ. SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS, M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

[*q*] Dio, p. 147.

[*r*] Scis Appium Cenſorem hic oſtenta facere? de ſignis & tabulis, de agri modo, & ære alieno acerrime agere? perſuaſum eſt ei, Cenſuram lomentum aut nitrum eſſe. Errare mihi videtur. Nam ſordes eluere vult, venas ſibi omnes & viſcera aperit. Curre per Deos, & quam primum hæc riſum veni. Legis Scantiniæ judicium apud Druſum fieri. Appium de tabulis & ſignis agere.—Ep. Fam. 8. 14.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coſſ. SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS, M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

the Knights and Senators at pleaſure, which he did with great freedom, and among others, turned Salluſt, *the Hiſtorian*, *out of the Senate*, and was hardly reſtrained from putting the ſame affront upon Curio, which added ſtill more friends and ſtrength to Cæſar [*s*].

As to the public news of the year, the grand affair, that engaged all people's thoughts, was the expectation of a breach between Cæſar and Pompey, which ſeemed now unavoidable, and in which all men were beginning to take part, and ranging themſelves on the one ſide or the other. On Pompey's there was *a great majority of the Senate and the Magiſtrates, with the better ſort of all ranks: on Cæſar's, all the criminal and obnoxious, all who had ſuffered puniſhment or deſerved it; the greateſt part of the youth, and the City mob; ſome of the popular Tribuns, and all who were oppreſſed with debts; who had a Leader fit for their purpoſe, daring, and well provided, and wanting nothing but a cauſe.* This is Cicero's account; and Cælius's is much the ſame: *I ſee*, ſays he, *that Pompey will have the Senate, and all who judge of things; Cæſar, all who live in fear and uneaſineſs; but there is no compariſon between their armies* [*t*]. Cæſar had put an end to the *Gallic war*, and reduced the whole Province to the *Roman* yoke: but

[*s*] Dio. l. 40. p. 150.

[*t*] Hoc video, cum homine audaciſſimo, paratiſmoque negotium eſſe: omnes damnatos, omnes ignominia affectos, omnes damnatione ignominiaque dignos illac facere. Omnem fere juventutem, omnem illam urbanam ac perditam plebem; Tribunos valentes—omnes, qui ære alieno premantur—cauſam ſolam illa cauſa non habet, cæteris rebus abundat ——ad Att. 7. 3.

In hac diſcordia video, Cn. Pompeium ſenatum, quique res judicant, ſecum habiturum: ad Cæſarem omnes, qui cum timore aut mala ſpe vivant ad Cæſarem acceſſuros. Exercitum conferendum non eſſe. Ep. Fam. 8. 14.

though his commiſſion was near expiring, he ſeemed to have no thoughts of giving it up, and returning to the condition of a private ſubject: he pretended *that he could not poſſibly be ſafe if he parted with his army*, eſpecially while *Pompey held the Province of Spain, prolonged to him for five years* [*u*]. The Senate, in the mean while, in order to make him eaſy, had conſented *to let him take the Conſulſhip, without coming to ſue for it in perſon:* but when that did not ſatisfy him, the Conſul, M. Marcellus, one of his fierceſt enemies, moved them *to abrogate his Command directly, and appoint him a ſucceſſor*; *and ſince the war was at an end, to oblige him to diſband his troops, and to come likewiſe in perſon to ſue for the Conſulſhip, nor to allow the freedom of the City to his Colonies beyond the Po:* this related particularly to *a favorite Colony, which Cæſar*, when Conſul, had ſettled *at Comum, at the foot of the Alps, with the freedom of the City granted to it by the Vatinian law* [*x*]. All the other Colonies on that ſide of the Po had before obtained from Pompey's father *the rights of Latium*, that is, the freedom of Rome to thoſe who had born *an annual Magiſtracy* in them: but M. Marcellus, out of a ſingular enmity to Cæſar, would allow no ſuch right to *his Colony of Comum*; and having caught *a certain Comenſian Magiſtrate*, who was acting *the Citizen at Rome*, he ordered him to be ſeized, and *publicly whipt*; an indignity, from which all Citizens were exempted by law; *bidding the man go and ſhew theſe marks of his Citizenſhip to Cæſar*,

A. Urb. 702, Cic. 56. Coſſ. SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS, M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

[*u*] Cæſari autem perſuaſum eſt, ſe ſalvum eſſe non poſſe, ſi ab exercitu receſſerit. Fert illam tamen conditionem, ut ambo exercitus tradant. Ibid.

[*x*] Sueton. J. Cæſ. c. 28. Strabo, l. 5. 326.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coſſ. SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS, M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

ſar [y]. Cicero condemns this act as violent and unjuſt; Marcellus, ſays he, *behaved ſhamefully in the caſe of the Comenſian: for if the man had never been a Magiſtrate, he was yet of a Colony beyond the Po, ſo that Pompey will not be leſs ſhock'd at it than Cæſar himſelf* [z].

THE other Conſul, Serv. Sulpicius, was of a more candid and moderate temper; and being unwilling to give ſuch a handle for a civil war, oppoſed and over-ruled the motions of his Collegue, by the help of ſome of the Tribuns: nor was Pompey himſelf diſpoſed to procede ſo violently, or to break with Cæſar on that foot; but thought it more plauſible to let his term run out, and his command expire of itſelf, and ſo throw upon him the odium of turning his arms againſt his Country, if he ſhould reſolve to act againſt the Senate and the laws. This counſil prevailed after many warm conteſtations, in which the ſummer was chiefly ſpent, and a decree was offered on the laſt of September, "That the Conſuls "elect, L. Paullus and C. Marcellus ſhould "move the Senate on the firſt of March, to ſet-"tle the Conſular Provinces; and if any Ma-"giſtrate ſhould interpoſe, to hinder the effect "of their decrees, that he ſhould be deemed an "enemy to the Republic; and if any one actu-"ally interpoſed, that this vote and reſolution "ſhould be entered into the Journals, to be con-"ſidered ſome other time by the Senate, and "laid alſo before the people." But four of the Tribuns gave their joint negative to this decree, C. Cælius, L. Vinicius, P. Cornelius, and C. Vi-

[y] Appian. 2. 443.

[z] Marcellus fæde de Comenſi: etſi ille Magiſtratum non geſſerit, erat tamen transpadanus. Ita mihi videtur non minus ſtomachi noſtro, ac Cæſari moviſſe. Ad Att. 5. 11.

bius

bius Panſa. In the courſe of theſe debates, Pompey, who affected great moderation in whatever he ſaid of Cæſar, was teized and urged on all ſides to make an explicit declaration of his ſentiments. When he called it unjuſt to determine any thing about Cæſar's Government, *before the firſt of March*, the term preſcribed to it by law, being aſked, "What, if any one ſhould then "put a negative upon them, *he ſaid*, there was "no difference whether Cæſar refuſed to obey "the decrees of the Senate, or provided men "to obſtruct them: What, *ſays another*, if he "ſhould inſiſt upon being Conſul, and holding his "Province too? What, *replied Pompey*, if my "ſon ſhould take a ſtick and cudgel me [*a*]?" intimating the one to be as incredible, and as impious as the other. A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coſſ. SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS, M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

CICERO's friend Cælius obtained *the Ædileſhip* this Summer from his Competitor Hirrus, the ſame who had oppoſed Cicero in the Augurate, and whoſe diſappointment gave occaſion to many jokes between them in their Letters [*b*]. In this Magiſtracy, it being cuſtomary to procure wild beaſts of all kinds from different parts of the Empire for the entertainment of the City, *Cælius begged of Cicero to ſupply him with Panthers from Cilicia, and to employ the Cybarites*, a people of his Province famed for hunting, *to catch them: for it would be a reflection upon you*, ſays he, *when Curio had ten Panthers from that Country, not to*

[*a*] Cum interrogaretur, ſi qui tum intercederent: dixit hoc nihil intereſſe, utrum C. Cæſar Senatui dicto audiens futurus non eſſet, an pararet, qui Senatum decernere non pateretur. Quid ſi, inquit alius, & Conſul eſſe & exercitum habere volat? at ille quam clementer. Quid ſi filius meus fuſtem mihi impingere volet? Ep. Fam. 8. 8.

[*b*] Ep. Fam. 2, 9, 10. it. 8, 2, 3, 9.

let

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coſſ. SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS, M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

let me have many more. He recommends to him at the ſame time M. Feridius, *a Roman Knight*, who had an Eſtate in Cilicia, charged with ſome ſervices or quit-rent to the neighbouring Cities, which he begs of him *to get diſcharged, ſo as to make the lands free* [*c*]: he ſeems alſo to have deſired Cicero's conſent to his levying certain contributions upon the Cities of his Province, *towards defraying the expence of his ſhews at Rome*; a prerogative, which the Ædiles always claimed, and ſometimes practiſed; though it was denied to them by ſome Governors, and particularly by Quintus Cicero in Aſia, upon the advice of his Brother [*d*]: in anſwer to all which Cicero replied, "that he was ſorry to find that his actions "were ſo much in the dark, that it was not yet "known at Rome, that not a farthing had been "exacted in his Province, except for the pay"ment of juſt debts: that it was neither fit for "him to extort money, nor for Cælius to take "it, if it were deſigned for himſelf; and admo"niſhed him, who had undertaken the part of "accuſing others, to live himſelf with more cau"tion—and as to Panthers, that it was not con"ſiſtent with his character to impoſe the charge "of hunting them upon the poor people [*e*]."

[*c*] Fere litteris omnibus tibi de Pantheris ſcripſi. Turpe tibi erit, Patiſcum Curioni decem Pantheras miſiſſe, te non multis partibus plures, &c. Ep. Fam. 8. 9.

M. Feridium—tibi commendo. Agros quos fructuarios habent civitates, vult tuo beneficio, quod tibi facile & honeſtum factu eſt, immunes eſſe——ib.

[*d*] Ad Quint. Frat. 1. 1. §. 9.

[*e*] Reſcripſi, me moleſte ferre, ſi ego in tenebris laterem, nec audiretur Romæ, nullum in mea provincia nummum niſi in æs alienum erogari; docuique nec mihi conciliare pecuniam licere, nec illi capere; monuique eum, &c. ad Att. 6. 1.

But

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coſſ. SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS, M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

But though he would not break his rules for the ſake of his friend, yet he took care to provide *Panthers* for him at his own expence, and ſays pleaſantly upon it, *that the Beaſts made a ſad complaint againſt him, and reſolved to quit the country, ſince no ſnares were laid in his Province for any other Creature but themſelves* [*f*].

CURIO likewiſe obtained the *Tribunate* this Summer, which he ſought with no other deſign, as many imagined, than for the opportunity of mortifying Cæſar, againſt whom he had hitherto acted with great fierceneſs [*g*]. But Cicero, who knew from the temper and views of them both, how eaſy it would be to make up matters between them, took occaſion to write a congratulatory Letter to him upon this advancement, in which he exhorts him with great gravity, "to conſider "into what a dangerous criſis his Tribunate had "fallen, not by chance, but his own choice; "what violence of the times, what variety of "dangers, hung over the Republic, how uncer-"tain the events of things were, how change-"able mens minds, how much treachery and "falſhood in human life—he begs of him there-"fore to beware of entering into any new coun-"ſils, but to purſue and defend, what he him-"ſelf thought right, and not ſuffer himſelf to be "drawn away by the advice of others"—referring without doubt to M. Antony, the chief companion and corrupter of his youth: in the concluſion, he conjures him, to "employ his preſent

[*f*] De Pantheris, per eos, qui venari ſolent, agitur mandato meo diligenter ſed mira paucitas eſt: & eas, quæ ſunt, valde aiunt queri quod nihil cuiquam inſidiarum in mea provincia niſi ſibi fiat. ——Ep. Fam. 2. 11.

[*g*] Sed ut ſpero & volo, & ut ſe fert ipſe Curio, bonos & ſenatum malet. Totus ut nunc eſt, hoc ſcaturit. ——ib. 8. 4.

"power

"power to hinder his Provincial trouble from "being prolonged by any new act of the Se- "nate"—[*b*] Cicero's ſuſpicions were ſoon confirmed by Letters from Rome; whence Cælius ſent him word of Curio's *changing ſides, and declaring himſelf for Cæſar:* in anſwer to which, Cicero ſays, *the laſt page of your Letter in your own hand really touched me. What do you ſay? is Curio turned advocate for Cæſar? who would have thought it beſides myſelf? for let me die, if I did not expect it! Good Gods, how much do I long to be laughing with you at Rome* [*i*]?

A. Urb. 703. Cic. 57. Coſſ. L. ÆMILIUS PAULLUS, C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

THE new Conſuls being Cicero's particular friends, he wrote congratulatory Letters to them both upon their election, in which he begged *the concurrence of their authority to the decree of his ſupplication*; and what he had more at heart, *that they would not ſuffer any prolongation of his annual term*; in which they readily obliged him, and received his thanks alſo by letter for that favor [*k*]. It was expected, that ſomething deciſive would now be done in relation to *the two Gauls*, and the appointment *of a ſucceſſor to Cæſar*, ſince both the Conſuls were ſuppoſed to be his enemies: but all attempts of that kind were ſtill fruſtrated by the intrigues of Cæſar; for when C. Marcellus began to renew the ſame motion, which his kinſman had made the year before, he was obſtructed by *his Collegue Paullus, and the Tribun Curio*, whom *Cæſar had privately gained by immenſe bribes, to ſuffer nothing prejudicial to his intereſt to paſs during their Magiſtracy* [*l*]. He is ſaid to have

[*b*] Ep. Fam. 2. 7.

[*i*] Extrema pagella pupugit me tuo chirographo. Quid ais? Cæſarem nunc defendit Curio? quis hoc putaret præter me? nam ita vivam, putavi—ib. 13.

[*k*] Ep. Fam. 15. 7, 10, 11, 12, 13.

[*l*] Sueton. J. Cæſ. 29.

given

given Paullus *about three hundred thouſand pounds, and to Curio much more* [*m*]. The firſt wanted it to defray the charges of *thoſe ſplendid buildings*, which he had undertaken to raiſe at his own coſt: the ſecond, to clear himſelf *of the load of his debts, which amounted to about half a million* [*n*]: for he had waſted his great fortunes ſo effectually in a few years, *that he had no other revenue left*, as Pliny ſays, *but in the hopes of a civil war* [*o*]. Theſe facts are mentioned by all the Roman writers; A. Urb. 703. Cic. 57. Coſſ. L. ÆMILIUS PAULLUS, C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

Momentumque fuit mutatus Curio rerum,
Gallorum captus ſpoliis & Cæſaris auro—
Lucan. 4. 819.
Caught by the ſpoils of Gaul and Cæſar's gold,
Curio turn'd traitor, and his country ſold.

and Servius applies that paſſage of Virgil, *Vendidit hic auro patriam*, to the caſe of Curio's *ſelling Rome to Cæſar.*

CICERO in the mean time was expecting with impatience the expiration of his annual term, but before he could quit the Province, he was obliged to ſee the account of all the money, which had paſſed through his own or his officers hands, ſtated and balanced; *and three fair copies provided, two to be depoſited in two of the principal Cities of his Juriſdiction, and a third in the Treaſury at Rome.* That his whole adminiſtration therefore might be of a piece, he was very exact and punctual in acquitting himſelf of this duty, and would not indulge *his officers in the uſe of any*

[*m*] Appian. l. ii. p. 443.
[*n*] Sexcenties Seſtertium æris alieni. Val. Max. 9. 1.
[*o*] Qui nihil in cenſu habuerit, præter diſcordiam principum. Plin. Hiſt. l. 36. 15.

public

A. Urb. 703. Cic. 57. Coſſ. L. ÆMILIUS PAULLUS, C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

public money beyond the legal time, or above the ſumm preſcribed by law, as appears from his Letters to ſome of them who deſired it [*p*]. Out of the annual revenue, which was decreed to him for the uſe of the Province, *he remitted to the Treaſury all that he had not expended, to the amount of above eight hundred thouſand pounds.* "This, ſays he, makes my whole company "groan; they imagined, that it ſhould have "been divided among themſelves, as if I ought "to have been a better manager for the treaſu-"ries of Phrygia and Cilicia, than for our own. "But they did not move me; for my own ho-"nor weighed with me the moſt: yet I have "not been wanting to do every thing in my "power that is honorable and generous to them "all [*q*]."

HIS laſt concern was, to what hands he ſhould commit the Government of his Province upon his leaving it, ſince there was no ſucceſſor appointed by the Senate on account of the heats among them about the caſe of Cæſar, which diſturbed all their debates, and interrupted all other

[*p*] Laodiceæ me prædes accepturum arbitror omnis publicæ pecuniæ—nihil eſt, quod in iſto genere cuiquam poſſim commodare, &c. Ep. Fam. 2. 17.

Illud quidem certe factum eſt, quod lex jubebat, ut apud duas civitates, Laodicenſem, & Apamaenſem, quæ nobis maximæ videbantur—rationes confectas & conſolidatas deponeremus, &c. ib. 5. 20.

[*q*] Cum enim rectum & glorioſum putarem ex annuo ſumptu, qui mihi decretus eſſet. Me C. Cælio Quæſtori relinquere annuum, referre in ærarium ad H. S. CIↃ. ingemuit noſtra cohors, omne illud putans diſtribui ſibi oportere: ut ego amicior invenirer Phrygum aut Cilicum ærariis, quam noſtro. Sed me non moverunt; nam mea laus apud me plurimum valuit. Nec tamen quicquam honorifice in quemquam fieri potuit, quod prætermiſerim. Ad Att. 7. 1.

buſineſs.

buſineſs. He had no opinion of his Quæſtor, C. Cælius, a young man of noble birth, but of no great virtue or prudence; and was afraid; after his glorious adminiſtration, that by placing ſo great a truſt in one of his character, he ſhould expoſe himſelf to ſome cenſure. But he had no body about him *of ſuperior rank*, who was willing to accept it, and did not care to force it upon his Brother, leſt that might give a handle *to ſuſpect him of ſome intereſt or partiality in the choice* [r]. He dropt the Province therefore, after ſome deliberation, into Cælius's hands, and ſet forward immediately upon his journey towards Italy. A. Urb. 703. Cic. 57. Coſſ. L. ÆMILIUS PAULLUS, C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

BUT before he quitted Aſia, he begged of Atticus by Letter to ſend him a particular detail of all the news of the City— "There are odious re- "ports, ſays he, about Curio and Paullus; not "that I ſee any danger while Pompey ſtands, "or I may ſay indeed, while he ſits, if he has "but his health; but in truth, I am ſorry for "my friends Curio and Paullus. If you are now "therefore at Rome, or as ſoon as you come "thither, I would have you ſend me a plan of "the whole Republic, which may meet me on "the road, that I may form myſelf upon it, and "reſolve what temper to aſſume on my coming "to the City: for it is ſome advantage not to "come thither a mere ſtranger [s]." "We ſee what

[r] Ego de provincia decedens Quæſtorem Cælium præpoſui provinciæ. Puerum? inquies. At Quæſtorem; at nobilem adoleſcentem; at omnium fere exemplo. Neque erat ſuperiore honore uſus, quem præficerem. Pontinius multo ante diſceſſerat. A Quinto fratre impetrari non poterat: quem tamen ſi reliquiſſem, dicerent, iniqui, non me plane poſt annum, ut Senatus voluiſſet, de provincia deceſſiſſe, quoniam alteram me reliquiſſem. Ep. Fam. 2. 15. vid. it. ad Att. 6. 5, 6.

[s] Huc odioſa afferebantur

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what a confidence he placed in Pompey, on whom indeed their whole proſpect either of peace with Cæſar, or of ſucceſs againſt him, depended: as to the intimation about his health, it is expreſſed more ſtrongly in another Letter; *All our hopes*, ſays he, *hang upon the life of one man, who is attacked every year by a dangerous fit of ſickneſs* [*t*]. His conſtitution ſeems to have been peculiarly ſubject to fevers; the frequent returns of which, in the preſent ſituation of affairs, gave great apprehenſion to all his party: in one of thoſe fevers, which threatened his life for many days ſucceſſively, *all the Towns of Italy put up public prayers for his ſafety*; an honor, which had never been paid before to any man, while Rome was free [*u*].

UPON taking leave of Cilicia, Cicero paid a viſit to Rhodes, *for the ſake*, he ſays, *of the children* [*x*]. His deſign was to give them a view of that flouriſhing Iſle, and a little exerciſe perhaps in that celebrated School of eloquence, where he himſelf had ſtudied with ſo much ſucceſs under Molo. Here he received *the news of Hortenſius's death* [*y*], which greatly affected him,

tur de Curione, de Paullo: non quo ullum periculum videam ſtante Pompeio, vel etiam ſedente, valeat modo. Sed mehercule Curionis & Paulli meorum familiarium vicem doleo. Formam igitur mihi totius Reip. ſi jam es Romæ, aut cum eris, velim mittas, quæ mihi obviam veniat. Ex qua me fingere poſſum, &c. ad Att. 6. 3.

[*t*] In unius hominis, quotannis periculoſe ægrotantis, anima, poſitas omnes noſtras ſpes habemus——ibid. 8. 2.

[*u*] Quo quidem tempore univerſa Italia vota pro ſalute ejus, primo omnium civium, ſuſcepit——Vell. Pat. 2. 48. Dio, p. 155.

[*x*] Rhodum volo puerorum cauſa. Ad Att. 6. 7.

[*y*] Cum e Cilicia decedens Rhodum veniſſem, & eo mihi de Q. Hortenſii morte eſſet allatum; opinione omnium majorem animo cepi dolorem——Brut. init.

by

by recalling to his mind the many glorious ſtruggles that they had ſuſtained together at the Bar, in their competition for the prize of eloquence. Hortenſius reigned abſolute in the Forum, when Cicero firſt entered it; and as his ſuperior fame was the chief ſpur to Cicero's induſtry, ſo the ſhining ſpecimen, which Cicero ſoon gave of himſelf, made Hortenſius likewiſe the brighter for it, by obliging him to exert all the force of his genius to maintain his ground againſt his young Rival. They paſſed a great part of their lives in a kind of equal conteſt and emulation of each other's merit: but Hortenſius, by the ſuperiority of his years, having firſt paſſed through the uſual gradation of public honors, and ſatisfied his ambition by obtaining the higheſt, *began to relax ſomewhat of his old contention, and give way to the charms of eaſe and luxury*, to which his nature ſtrongly inclined him [z], till he was forced at laſt, by the general voice of the City, to yield the poſt of honor to Cicero; who never loſt ſight of the true point of glory, nor was ever diverted by any temptation of pleaſure from his ſteady courſe and laborious purſuit of virtue. Hortenſius publiſhed ſeveral orations which were extant long after his death; and it were much to be wiſhed, that they had remained to this day, to enable us to form a judgment of the different talents of theſe two great men: but they are ſaid to have owed a great part of their credit to the advantage of his action, which yet was thought *to have more of art than was neceſſary to an Orator*, ſo that his compoſitions *were not admired ſo much by the*

A. Urb. 703. Cic. 57. Coſſ. L. ÆMILIUS PAULLUS, C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

[z] Nam is poſt Conſulatum—ſummum illud ſuum ſtudium remiſit, quo a puero fuerat incenſus; atque in omnium rerum abundantia voluit beatius, ut ipſe putabat, remiſſius certe vivere. Brut. p. 443.

A. Urb. 703. Cic. 57. Coſſ. L. ÆMILIUS PAULLUS, C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

Reader, as they had been by the Hearer [*a*]; while Cicero's more valued productions made all others of that kind leſs ſought for, and conſequently the leſs carefully preſerved. Hortenſius however was generally allowed by the Ancients, and by Cicero himſelf, to have poſſeſſed every accompliſhment, which could adorn an Orator; *elegance of ſtile*; *art of compoſition*; *fertility of invention*; *ſweetneſs of elocution*; *gracefulneſs of action* [*b*]. Theſe two Rivals lived however always with great civility and reſpect towards each other, and were uſually in the ſame way of thinking and acting in the affairs of the Republic; till Cicero, in the caſe of his exil, diſcovered the plain marks of a lurking envy and infidelity in Hortenſius: yet his reſentment carried him no farther than to ſome free complaints of it to their common friend Atticus, who made it his buſineſs to mitigate this diſguſt, and hinder it from proceding to an open breach; ſo that Cicero, being naturally placable, lived again with him after his return on the ſame eaſy terms as before, and lamented his death at this time with great tenderneſs, not onely as the private loſs of a friend, but a public misfortune to his Country, in being deprived of the ſervice and authority of *ſo experienced a ſtateſman* at ſo critical a conjuncture [*c*].

FROM

[*a*] Motus & geſtus etiam plus artis habebat, quam erat Oratori ſatis. Brut. 425. dicebat melius quam ſcripſit Hortenſius. Orator. p. 261. Ejus ſcripta tantum intra famam ſunt, qui diu princeps Oratorum exiſtimatus eſt, noviſſime quoad vixit, ſecundus; ut appareat placuiſſe aliquid eo dicente, quod legentes non invenimus—— Quint. xi. 3.

[*b*] Erat in verborum ſplendore elegans, compoſitione aptus, facultate copioſus:— nec prætermittebat fere quicquam, quod erat in cauſa— vox canora & ſuavis.— Brut. 425.

[*c*] Nam & amico amiſſo cum conſuetudine jucunda, tum

FROM Rhodes he paſſed on to Epheſus, whence he ſet ſail on the firſt of *October*, and after a tedious paſſage landed at Athens on the fourteenth [*d*]. Here he lodged again in his old quarters, at the houſe of his friend Ariſtus. His Predeceſſor, Appius, who paſſed alſo through Athens on his return, had ordered *a new Portico or Veſtibule to be built at his coſt to the Temple of the Eleuſinian Ceres*; which ſuggeſted a thought likewiſe to Cicero of adding ſome ornament of the ſame kind *to the Academy*, as a public monument of his name, as well as of his affection for the place: *for he hated*, he ſays, *thoſe falſe inſcriptions of other people's ſtatues* [*e*], with which the Greeks uſed to flatter their new Maſters, by effacing the old titles, and inſcribing them anew to the great men of Rome. He acquainted Atticus with his deſign, and deſired his opinion upon it: but in all probability, it was never executed, ſince his ſtay at Athens was now very ſhort, and his thoughts wholly bent on Italy: for as all his Letters confirmed to him *the certainty of a war*, in which he muſt neceſſarily bear a part, ſo he was impatient to be at home, that he might have the clearer view of the ſtate of affairs, and take

A. Urb. 703. Cic. 57. Coſſ. L. ÆMILIUS PAULLUS, C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

tum multorum officiorum conjunctione me privatum videbam—augebat etiam moleſtiam, quod magna ſapientium civium bonorumque penuria, vir egregius, conjunctiſſimuſque mecum conſiliorum omnium ſocietate alieniſſimo Reipub. tempore extinctus—Brut. init.

[*d*] Prid. Id. Octob. Athenas venimus, cum ſane adverſis ventis uſi eſſemus—— Ep. Fam. 14. 5.

[*e*] Audio Appium προπύλαιον, Eleuſine facere. Num inepti fuerimus, ſi nos quoque Academiæ fecerimus?——equidem valde ipſas Athenas amo. Volo eſſe aliquod monumentum. Odi falſas inſcriptiones alienarum Statuarum. Sed ut tibi placebit.—Ad Att. 6. 1.

A. Urb. 703. Cic. 57. Coſſ. L. ÆMILIUS PAULLUS, C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

his meaſures with the greater deliberation [*f*]. Yet he was not ſtill without hopes of peace, and that he ſhould be able to make up the quarrel between the chiefs; for he was, of all men, the beſt qualified to effect it, on account not onely of his authority, but of his intimate friendſhip with them both; who ſeverally *paid great court to him at this time, and reckoned upon him as their own, and wrote to him with a confidence of his being a determined friend* [*g*].

IN his voyage from Athens towards Italy, Tiro, one of his ſlaves, whom he ſoon after made free, happened to fall ſick, and was left behind at Patræ to the care of friends and a phyſician. The mention of ſuch an accident will ſeem trifling to thoſe who are not acquainted with the character and excellent qualities of Tiro, and how much we are indebted to him for preſerving and tranſmitting to poſterity the precious collection of Cicero's Letters, of which a great part ſtill remain, and one intire book of them written to Tiro himſelf; ſeveral of which relate to the ſubject of *this very illneſs*. Tiro was trained up in Cicero's family, among the reſt of his young ſlaves, in every

[*f*] Cognovi ex multorum amicorum litteris—ad arma rem ſpectare. Ut mihi cum venero, diſſimulare non liceat, quid ſentiam. Sed quum ſubeunda fortuna eſt, eo citius dabimus operam ut veniamus, quo facilius de tota re deliberemus. —— Ep. Fam. 14. 5.

Sive enim ad concordiam res adduci poteſt, ſive ad bonorum victoriam, utriuſve rei me aut adjutorem eſſe velim, aut certe non expertem. —Ad Att. 7. 3.

[*g*] Ipſum tamen Pompeium ſeparatim ad concordiam hortabor. Ib.

Me autem uterque numerat ſuum. Niſi forte ſimulat alter. Nam Pompeius non dubitat (vere enim judicat) ea, quæ de Repub. nunc ſentiat, mihi valde probari. Utriuſque autem accepi litteras ejuſmodi—ut neuter quemquam omnium pluris facere quam me videretur. Ib. 7. 1.

kind

kind of uſefull and polite learning, and being a youth of ſingular parts and induſtry, ſoon became an eminent Scholar, and extremely ſerviceable to his maſter in all his affairs both civil and domeſtic. "As for Tiro, ſays he to Atticus, I ſee you "have a concern for him: though he is won- "derfully uſefull to me, when he is well, in "every kind both of my buſineſs, and ſtudies, "yet I wiſh his health more, for his own huma- "nity and modeſty, than for any ſervice which I "reap from him [*b*]." But his Letter to Tiro himſelf will beſt ſhew what an affectionate maſter he was: for from the time of leaving him, he never failed writing to him by every meſſenger or ſhip which paſſed that way, though it were twice or thrice a day, and often ſent one of his ſervants expreſs to bring an account of his health: the firſt of theſe Letters will give us a notion of the reſt.

A. Urb. 703. Cic. 57. Coſſ. L. ÆMILIUS PAULLUS, C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

M. T. Cicero to Tiro.

"I thought that I ſhould have been able to "bear the want of you more eaſily; but in truth "I cannot bear it: and though it is of great im- "portance to my expected honor, to be at Rome "as ſoon as poſſible, yet I ſeem to have commit- "ted a ſin when I left you. But ſince you were "utterly againſt proceding in the voyage till "your health was confirmed, I approved your "reſolution; nor do I now think otherwiſe, if "you continue in the ſame mind. But after you "have begun to take meat again, if you think

[*b*] De Tirone video tibi curæ eſſe. Quem quidem ego, & ſi mirabiles utilitates mihi præbet, cum valet, in omni genere vel negotiorum vel ſtudiorum meorum, tamen propter humanitatem & modeſtiam malo ſalvum, quam propter uſum meum. Ad Att. 7. 5.

A. Urb. 703. Cic. 57. Coſſ. L. ÆMILIUS PAULLUS, C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

" that you ſhall be able to overtake me, that is " left to your conſideration. I have ſent Mario " to you with inſtructions, either to come with " you to me as ſoon as you can, or if you ſhould " ſtay longer, to return inſtantly without you. " Aſſure yourſelf however of this, that, as far " as it can be convenient to your health, I wiſh " nothing more than to have you with me; but " if it be neceſſary for the perfecting your reco- " very, to ſtay a while longer at Patræ; that I " wiſh nothing more than to have you well. If " you ſail immediately, you will overtake me at " Leucas: but if you ſtay to eſtabliſh your health, " take care to have good company, good wea- " ther, and a good veſſel. Obſerve this one " thing, my Tiro, if you love me, that neither " Mario's coming, nor this Letter hurry you. " By doing what is moſt conducive to your health, " you will do what is moſt agreeable to me: weigh " all theſe things by your own diſcretion. I want " you; yet ſo as to love you; my love makes " me wiſh to ſee you well; my want of you " to ſee you as ſoon as poſſible: the firſt is the " better; take care therefore, above all things, " to get well again: of all your innumerable ſer- " vices to me, that will be the moſt acceptable " ——the third of November [*i*]."

BY the honor, that he mentions in the Letter, he means *the honor of a Triumph*, which his friends encouraged him to demand for his ſucceſs at Amanus and Pindeniſſum: in writing upon it to Atticus, he ſays, " conſider what you would ad- " viſe me with regard to a Triumph to which " my friends invite me: for my part, if Bibulus, " who, while there was a Parthian in Syria, ne-

[*i*] Ep. Fam. 16. 1.

"

"ver ſet a foot out of the gates of Antioch, "any more than he did upon a certain occaſion "out of his own houſe, had not ſollicited a "Triumph, I ſhould have been quiet; but now "it is a ſhame to ſit ſtill [k]." Again, "as to a "Triumph, I had no thoughts of it before Bi-"bulus's moſt impudent Letters, by which he "obtained an honorable ſupplication. If he had "really done all that he has written, I ſhould "rejoice at it, and wiſh well to his ſuit; but for "him, who never ſtirred beyond the walls, "while there was an enemy on this ſide the Eu-"phrates, to have ſuch an honor decreed; and "for me, whoſe army inſpired all their hopes "and ſpirits into his, not to obtain the ſame, "will be a diſgrace to us; I ſay to us; joining "you to myſelf: wherefore I am determined to "puſh at all, and hope to obtain all [l]."

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AFTER the contemptible account, which Cicero gives of Bibulus's conduct in Syria, it muſt appear ſtrange to ſee him honored with a ſupplication, and aſpiring even to a Triumph: but this was not for any thing that he himſelf had done, but for what his Lieutenant Caſſius had performed in his abſence againſt the Parthians; the ſucceſs of the Lieutenants being aſcribed always to the auſpices of the General, who reaped the reward and glory of it: and as the Parthians were

[k] Ad Att. 6. 8.

[l] De triumpho, nulla me cupiditas unquam tenuit ante Bibuli impudentiſſimas litteras, quas ampliſſima ſupplicatio conſecuta eſt. A quo ſi ea geſta ſunt, quæ ſcripſit, gauderem & honori faverem. Nunc illum, qui pedem porta, quoad hoſtis cis Euphratem fuit, non extulerit, honore augeri, me, in cujus exercitu ſpem illius exercitus habuit, idem non aſſequi, dedecus eſt noſtrum; noſtrum, inquam, te conjungens. Itaque omnia experiar, &, ut ſpero, aſſequar.——Ad Att. 7. 2.

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the moſt dangerous enemies of the Republic, and the more particularly dreaded at this time for their late defeat of Craſſus, ſo any advantage gained againſt them was ſure to be well received at Rome, and repaid with all the honors that could reaſonably be demanded.

WHENEVER any Proconſul returned from his Province with pretenſions *to a Triumph, his Faſces, or Enſigns of Magiſtracy, were wreathed with laurel:* with this equipage Cicero landed at Brundiſium *on the twenty-fifth of* November, where his wife Terentia arrived at the ſame moment to meet him, ſo *that their firſt ſalutation was in the great ſquare of the City.* From Brundiſium he marched forward by ſlow ſtages towards Rome, making it his buſineſs on the road to confer with all his friends of both parties, who came out to ſalute him; and to learn their ſentiments on the preſent ſtate of affairs; from which he ſoon perceived, what of all things he moſt dreaded, an univerſal diſpoſition to war. But as he foreſaw the conſequences of it more cooly and clearly than any of them, ſo his firſt reſolution was to apply all his endeavours and authority to the mediation of a peace. He had not yet declared for either ſide, not that he was irreſolute which of them to chuſe, *for he was determined within himſelf to follow Pompey*; but the difficulty was, how to act in the mean time towards Cæſar, ſo as to avoid taking part in the previous decrees, which were prepared againſt him, *for abrogating his command, and obliging him to diſband his forces on pain of being declared an enemy:* here he wiſhed to ſtand neuter a while, that he might act the mediator with the better grace and effect [*m*].

IN

[*m*] Brundiſium venimus vii. Kal. Decemb.—Terentia vero,

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IN this diſpoſition he had an interview with Pompey on *the tenth of December*, of which he gives the following account: "We were toge- "ther, *ſays he*, about two hours. He ſeemed "to be extremely pleaſed at my return; he ex- "horted me to demand a Triumph; promiſed "to do his part in it; adviſed me not to appear "in the Senate, before I had obtained it, leſt I "ſhould diſguſt any of the Tribuns by declaring "my mind: in a word, nothing could be more "obliging than his whole diſcourſe on this ſub- "ject. But as to public affairs, he talked in "ſuch a ſtrain as if a war was inevitable, with- "out giving the leaſt hopes of an accommoda- "tion. He ſaid, that he had long perceived "Cæſar to be alienated from him, but had re- "ceived a very late inſtance of it; for that "Hirtius came from Cæſar a few days before, "and did not come to ſee him; and when Bal- "bus promiſed to bring Scipio an account of "his buſineſs, the next morning before day, "Hirtius was gone back again to Cæſar in the "night: this he takes for a clear proof of Cæ- "ſar's reſolution to break with him. In ſhort, "I have no other comfort but in imagining, "that he, to whom even his enemies have "voted a ſecond Conſulſhip, and Fortune given "the greateſt power, will not be ſo mad as to "put all this to hazard: yet if he begins to

vero, quæ quidem eodem tempore ad portam Brundiſinam venit, quo ego in portum, mihique obvia in Foro fuit. Ibid.——

Mihi σκάφος unum erit, quod a Pompeio gubernabitur—dic. M. Tulli σύνλομα. Cn. Pompeio aſſentio—ib. 3.

Nunc incido in diſcrimen ipſum,—dabunt operam, ut eliciant ſententiam meam—tu autem de noſtro ſtatu cogitabis; primum quo artificio tueamur benevolentiam Cæſaris——ib. 1.

"ruſh

A. Urb. 703. Cic. 57. Coſſ. L. ÆMILIUS PAULLUS, C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

"ruſh on, I ſee many more things to be apprehended than I dare venture to commit to writ-
"ing: at preſent I propoſe to be at Rome on
"the third of January [*n*]."

THERE is one little circumſtance frequently touched in Cicero's letters, which gave him a particular uneaſineſs in his preſent ſituation, viz. *his owing a ſumm of money to Cæſar*, which he imagined might draw ſome reproach upon him, ſince he thought it *diſhonorable and indecent*, he ſays, *to be a debtor to one, againſt whom we were acting in public affairs: yet to pay it at that time would deprive him of a part of the money which he had reſerved for his Triumph* [*o*]. He deſires Atticus however very earneſtly to ſee it paid, which was done without doubt accordingly, ſince we meet with no farther mention of it: it does not appear, nor is it eaſy to gueſs, for what occaſion this debt was contracted, unleſs it was to ſupply the extraordinary expence of his buildings after his return from exil, when he complained of being in a particular want of money from that general diſſipation of his fortunes.

POMPEY, finding Cicero wholly bent on peace, contrived to have a ſecond conference with him before he reached the City, in hopes to allay his fears, and beat him off from that vain project of an accommodation, which might help to cool the zeal of his friends in the ſenate: he overtook him therefore at Lavernium, and came on

[*n*] Ad Att. 7. 4.

[*o*] Illud tamen non deſinam, dum adeſſe te putabo, de Cæſaris nomine rogare, ut confectum relinquas. Ib. 5. 6.

Mihi autem moleſtiſſimum eſt, quod ſolvendi ſunt nummi Cæſari, & inſtrumentum triumphi eo conferendum. Eſt enim ἄμορφον, ἀνθιτολιτευομένῳ χρεοφειλέτην eſſe.—Ib. 7. 8.

with

with him to Formiæ, where they ſpent a whole afternoon in a cloſe converſation. Pompey ſtrongly diſcouraged all thoughts of a pacification, declaring, "that there could be none but what "was treacherous and dangerous; and that if "Cæſar ſhould diſband his army, and take the "Conſulſhip, he would throw the Republic into "confuſion: but he was of opinion, that when "he underſtood their preparations againſt him, "he would drop the Conſulſhip, and hold faſt "his army: but if he was mad enough to come "forward and act offenſively, he held him in "utter contempt from a confidence in his own "troops, and thoſe of the Republic. They "had got with them the copy of a ſpeech, "which Antony, one of the new Tribuns, "made to the people four days before: it was "a perpetual invective on Pompey's conduct "from his firſt appearance in public, with great "complaints againſt the violent and arbitrary "condemnation of Citizens, and the terror of "his arms. After reading it over together, "what think, you, ſays Pompey, would Cæſar "himſelf do, if in poſſeſſion of the Republic, "when this paultry, beggarly fellow, his Quæ-"ſtor, dares to talk at this rate? on the whole, "Pompey ſeemed not onely not to deſire, but "even to dread a peace [p]."

A. Urb. 703. Cic. 57. Coſſ. L. Æmilius Paullus, C. Claudius Marcellus.

Cicero however would not ſtill be driven from the hopes and purſuit of an accommodation; the more he obſerved the diſpoſition of both parties, the more he perceived the neceſſity of it: the honeſt, as they were called, were diſunited among themſelves: many of them diſſatisfied with Pompey; all fierce and violent; and

[p] Ib. 7, 8.

denouncing nothing but ruin to their adverſaries; he clearly foreſaw, what he declared without ſcruple to his friends, "that which ſide ſoever got "the better, the war muſt neceſſarily end in a "Tyranny; the onely difference was, that if "their enemies conquered, they ſhould be pro-"ſcribed, if their friends, be ſlaves." Though he had an abhorrence therefore of Cæſar's cauſe, yet his advice was, to grant him his own terms, rather than try the experiment of arms, "and "prefer the moſt unjuſt conditions to the juſteſt "war: ſince after they had been arming him "againſt themſelves for ten years paſt, it was too "late to think of fighting, when they had made "him too ſtrong for them [q]."

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

THIS was the ſumm of his thoughts and counſils, when he arrived at *Rome on the fourth of January*; where he found the two new Conſuls intirely devoted to Pompey's intereſts. On his approach towards the City great multitudes came out to meet him with all poſſible demonſtrations of honor: *his laſt ſtage was from Pompey's villa near Alba, becauſe his own at Tuſculum lay out of the great road, and was not commodious for a public entry: on his arrival*, as he ſays, *he fell into the very flame of civil diſcord*, and found the war in

[q] De Repub. quotidie magis timeo. Non enim boni, ut putant, conſentiunt. Quos ego Equites Romanos, quos Senatores vidi, qui acerrime tum cætera, tum hoc iter Pompeii vituperarent. Pace opus eſt, ex victoria cum multa mala, tum certe Tyrannus exiſtet.——Ib. 7. 5.

Ut ſi victus eris, proſcribere; ſi viceris, tamen ſervias. Ib. 7. 7.

Ad pacem hortari non deſino, quæ vel injuſta utilior eſt, quam juſtiſſimum bellum. ——Ib. 7. 14.

Mallem tantas ei vires non dediſſet, quam nunc tam valenti reſiſterit. Ib. 7. 3.

Niſi forte hæc illi tum arma dedimus, ut nunc cum bene parato pugnaremus. Ib. 7. 6.

effect

effect proclamed [*r*]: for the Senate, at Scipio's motion, had juſt voted a decree, "that Cæſar "ſhould diſmiſs his army by a certain day, or "be declared an enemy; and when M. Antony "and Q. Caſſius, two of the Tribuns, oppoſed "their negative to it," as they had done to every decree propoſed againſt Cæſar, and could not be perſuaded by the intreaties of their friends, to give way to the authority of the Senate, they proceded to that vote, which was the laſt reſort in caſes of extremity, "that the Conſuls, "Prætors, Tribuns, and all who were about the "city with Proconſular power, ſhould take care "that the Republic received no detriment." As this was ſuppoſed to arm the Magiſtrates with an abſolute power, to treat all men as they pleaſed, whom they judged to be enemies, ſo the *Two Tribuns*, together with Curio, immediately *withdrew themſelves upon it, and fled in diſguiſe to Cæſar's camp, on pretence of danger and violence to their perſons, though none was yet offered or deſigned to them* [*s*].

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

M. ANTONY, who now began to make a figure in the affairs of Rome, was of an ancient and noble extraction; the Grandſon of that celebrated ſtateſman and orator, who loſt his life in the maſſacres of Marius and Cinna: his Fa-

[*r*] Ego ad urbem acceſſi prid. non. Jan. obviam mihi ſic eſt proditum, ut nihil poſſit fieri ornatius. Sed incidi in ipſam flammam civilis diſcordiæ vel potius belli —— Ep. Fam. 16. 11.

Ego in Tuſculanum nihil hoc tempore. Devium eſt τοῖς ἀταλῆσι, &c. ad Att. 7. 5.

[*s*] Antonius quidem noſter & Q. Caſſius, nulla vi expulſi, ad Cæſarem cum Curione profecti erant; poſtea quam ſenatus Conſulibus, Prætoribus, Tribunis plebis & nobis, qui Proconſules ſumus, negotium dederat, ut curaremus, ne quid Reſp. detrimenti caperet —— Ep. Fam. 16. 11.

ther,

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS. L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

ther, as it is already related, had been honored with one of the moſt important commiſſions of the Republic; but after an inglorious diſcharge of it, died with the character of a corrupt, oppreſſive, and rapacious Commander. The Son, trained in the diſcipline of ſuch a Parent, whom he loſt when he was very young, launched out at once into all the exceſs of riot and debauchery, and *waſted his whole patrimony before he had put on the manly gown*; ſhewing himſelf to be the genuin Son of that Father, who was born, as Salluſt ſays, *to ſquander money, without ever employing a thought on buſineſs, till a preſent neceſſity urged him.* His comely perſon, lively wit, inſinuating addreſs, made young Curio infinitely fond of him; ſo that, in ſpight of the commands of a ſevere Father, who had often turned Antony out of doors, and forbidden him his houſe, he could not be prevailed with to forſake his company; but ſupplied him with money for his frolics and amours, till he had involved himſelf on his account in a debt *of fifty thouſand pounds.* This greatly afflicted *old Curio*; *and Cicero was called in to heal the diſtreſs of the family*, whom the Son entreated, with tears in his eyes, to intercede for Antony, as well as for himſelf, and not ſuffer them to be parted; but Cicero having prevailed with the father to make his ſon eaſy, by diſcharging his debts, adviſed him to inſiſt upon it as a condition, and to enforce it by his paternal power, that he ſhould have no farther commerce with Antony [*t*]. This

[*t*] Teneſne memoria Prætextatum te decoxiſſe? —— nemo unquam puer emptus libidinis cauſa tam fuit in domini poteſtate, quam tu in Curionis. Quoties te pater ejus domo ſuo ejecit? —— ſciſne me de rebus mihi notiſſimis

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS. L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

This laid the foundation of an early averſion in Antony to Cicero, encreaſed ſtill by the perpetual courſe of Antony's life, which fortune happened to throw among Cicero's inveterate enemies: for, by the ſecond marriage of his mother, he became *ſon-in-law to that Lentulus*, who was put to death for conſpiring with Catiline, by whom he was initiated into all the cabals of a traiterous faction, and infected with principles pernicious to the liberty of Rome. To revenge the death of this father, he attached himſelf to Clodius, and during his *Tribunate*, was one of the miniſters of all his violences; yet was detected at the ſame time in ſome *criminal intrigue* in his family, injurious *to the honor of his Patron* [*u*]. From this education in the City, he went abroad to learn the art of war under Gabinius, the moſt profligate of all Generals; who gave him *the command of his horſe in Syria*, where he ſignalized his courage in *the reſtoration of King Ptolemy*, and acquired the firſt taſt of martial glory, in an expedition undertaken againſt *the laws and religion of his Country* [*x*]. From *Egypt*, *inſtead of*

tiſſimis dicere? recordare tempus illud, cum Pater Curio mœrens jacebat in lecto; filius ſe ad pedes meos proſternens, lacrymans te mihi commendabat, orabat, ut te contra patrem ſuum, ſi H. S. ſexagies peteret defenderem: tantum enim ſe pro te interceſſiſſe: ipſe autem amore ardens confirmabat, quod deſiderium tui diſcidii ferre non poſſet——quo ego tempore tanta mala florentiſſimæ familiæ ſedavi vel potius ſuſtuli: patri perſuaſi, ut æs alienum filii diſſolveret, &c.—[Philip. 2. 18.—] M. Antonius, perdundæ pecuniæ genitus, vacuuſque curis, niſi inſtantibus. Salluſt. Hiſtor. Fragm. l. iii.

[*u*] Te domi P. Lentuli educatum —— [Phil. 2. 7.] Intimus erat in Tribunatu Clodio——ejus omnium incendiorum fax—cujus etiam domi quiddam jam tum molitus eſt, &c. ib. 19.

[*x*] Inde iter Alexandriam,

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

of coming home, where his debts would not ſuffer him to be eaſy, *he went to Cæſar into Gaul*, the ſure refuge of all the needy, the deſperate, and the audacious: and after ſome ſtay in that Province, being furniſhed with money and credit by Cæſar, he returned to Rome to ſue for the Quæſtorſhip [*y*]. Cæſar recommended him in a preſſing manner to Cicero, "entreating him to "accept Antony's ſubmiſſion, and pardon him "for what was paſt, and to aſſiſt him in his "preſent ſuit: with which Cicero readily com-"plied," and obliged Antony ſo highly by it, that he declared war preſently againſt Clodius, "whom he attacked with great fierceneſs in the "Forum, and would certainly have killed, if "he had not found means to hide himſelf un-"der ſome ſtairs." Antony openly gave out, "that he owed all this to Cicero's generoſity, to "whom he could never make amends for for-"mer injuries, but by the deſtruction of his ene-"my Clodius [*z*]." Being choſen Quæſtor, he went back immediately to Cæſar, without expecting *his lot, or a decree of the Senate*, to appoint him his Province: where, though he had all imaginable opportunities of acquiring money, yet by ſquandering, as faſt as he got it, he came

am, contra ſenatus auctoritatem, contra Rempub. & religiones: ſed habebat ducem Gabinium, &c. ib.

[*y*] Prius in ultimam Galliam ex Ægypto quam domum — veniſti e Gallia ad Quæſturam petendam.—ib. —vid. Plutar. in Anton.

[*z*] Acceperam jam ante Cæſaris litteras, ut mihi ſatisfieri paterer a te — poſtea cuſtoditus ſum a te, tu a me obſervatus in petitione Quæſturæ, quo quidem tempore P. Clodium—in foro es conatus occidere—ita prædicabas, te non exiſtimare niſi illum interfeciſſes, unquam mihi pro tuis in me injuriis ſatis eſſe facturum — ib. 20.

Cum ſe ille fugiens in ſcalarum tenebras abdidiſſet, &c. pro Mil. 15.

a ſecond

a ſecond time *empty and beggarly to Rome, to put in for the Tribunate*; in which office, after the example of *his friend Curio*, having ſold himſelf to Cæſar, he was, as Cicero ſays, *as much the cauſe of the enſuing war, as Helen was of that of Troy* [*a*]. A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

IT is certain at leaſt, *that Antony's flight gave the immediate pretext to it*, as Cicero had foretold: "Cæſar, *ſays he*, will betake himſelf to arms, "either for our want of preparation, or if no "regard be had to him at the election of Con- "ſuls; but eſpecially, if any Tribun, obſtruct- "ing the deliberations of the Senate, or exciting "the people to ſedition, ſhould happen to be "cenſured or over-ruled, or taken off, or ex- "pelled, or pretending to be expelled, run "away to him——[*b*]" in the ſame Letter he gives a ſhort, but true ſtate of the merit of his cauſe: "What, *ſays he*, can be more impudent? "You have held your government ten years, "not granted to you by the Senate, but extort- "ed by violence and faction: the full term is "expired, not of the law, but of your licentious "will: but allow it to be a law; it is now de- "creed, that you muſt have a ſucceſſor: you "refuſe, and ſay, have ſome regard to me: do "you firſt ſhew your regard to us: will you

[*a*] Deinde ſine ſenatus conſulto, ſine ſorte, ſine lege ad Cæſarem cucurriſti. Id enim unum in terris egeſtatis, æris alieni, nequitiæ, perditis vitæ rationibus perfugium eſſe ducebas – advolaſti egens ad Tribunatum, ut in eo Magiſtratu, ſi poſſes, viri tui ſimilis eſſes – ut Helena Trojanis, ſic iſte huic Reipub. cauſa belli, &c.——Phil. 2. 21, 22.

[*b*] Aut addita cauſa, ſi forte Tribunus pleb. ſenatum impediens, aut populum incitans, notatus, aut ſenatus conſulto circumſcriptus, aut ſublatus aut expulſus ſit, dicenſve ſe expulſum ad ſe confugerit—ad Att. 7. 9.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

" pretend to keep an army longer than the peo-
" ple ordered, and contrary to the will of the
" Senate [c]?" but *Cæſar's ſtrength lay not in the goodneſs of his cauſe, but of his troops* [d]; a conſiderable part of which he was now drawing together towards the confines of Italy, to be ready to enter into action at any warning: *the flight of the Tribuns* gave him a plauſible handle to begin, and ſeemed to ſanctify his attempt; but " his real motive, *ſays Plutarch*, was the
" ſame that animated Cyrus and Alexander be-
" fore him to diſturb the peace of mankind;
" the unquenchable thirſt of Empire, and the
" wild ambition of being the greateſt man in
" the world, which was not poſſible, till Pom-
" pey was firſt deſtroyed [e]." Laying hold therefore of the occaſion, he preſently paſſed the Rubicon, which was *the boundary of his Province* on that ſide of Italy, and marching forward in an hoſtile manner, poſſeſſed himſelf without reſiſtance of the next great Towns in his way, Ariminum, Piſaurum, Ancona, Aretium, &c [f].

IN this confuſed and diſordered ſtate of the City, Cicero's friends were ſolliciting *the decree of his Triumph*, to which the whole Senate ſignified their ready conſent: but " the conſul Len-
" tulus, to make the favor more particularly his

[c] Ibid. it. Ep. Fam. 16. 11.

[d] Alterius ducis cauſa melior videbatur, alterius erat firmior. Hic omnia ſpecioſa, illic valentia. Pompeium ſenatus auctoritas, Cæſarem militum armavit fiducia. Vell. Pat. 2. 49.

[e] Plutar. in Anton.

[f] An ille id faciat, quod paullo ante decretum eſt, ut exercitum citra Rubiconem, qui finis eſt Galliæ, educeret? — Philip. 6. 3.

Itaque cum Cæſar amentia quadam raperetur, & — Ariminum, Piſaurum, Anconam, Arretium occupaviſſet, Urbem reliquimus—— Ep. Fam. 16. 12.

" own

"own, desired that it might be deferred for a "while, till the public affairs were better settled, "giving his word, that he would then be the "mover of it himself [*g*]." But Cæsar's sudden march towards Rome put an end to all farther thoughts of it, and struck the Senate with such a panic, that, as if he had been already at the gates, they resolved presently to quit the City, and retreat towards the southern parts of Italy. All the principal Senators had particular districts assigned to their care, to be provided with troops, and all materials of defence against Cæsar. *Cicero had Capua, with the inspection of the Sea coast from Formiæ: he would not accept any greater charge for the sake of preserving his authority in the task of mediating a peace* [*h*]; and for the same reason, when he perceived his new Province wholly unprovided against an enemy, *and that it was impossible to hold Capua without a strong Garrison, he resigned his Employment, and chose not to act at all* [*i*].

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coss. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

[*g*] Nobis tamen inter has turbas Senatus frequens flagitavit Triumphum: sed Lentulus Consul, quo majus suum beneficium faceret, simul atque expedisset quæ essent necessaria de Repub. dixit se relaturum. Ep. Fam. 16. 11.

[*h*] Ego negotio præsum non turbulento; vult enim me Pompeius esse, quem tota hæc Campana & maritima ora habeat ἐπίσκοπον, ad quem electus & summa negotii referentur. Ad Att. 7. 11.

Ego adhuc oræ maritimæ præsum a Formis. Nullum majus negotium suscipere volui, quo plus apud illum meæ litteræ cohortationesque ad pacem valerent. Ep. Fam. 16. 12.

[*i*] Nam certe neque tum peccavi, cum imparatam jam Capuam, non solum ignaviæ delectus, sed etiam perfidiæ suspicionem fugiens, accipere nolui. ad Att. 8. 12.

Quod tibi ostenderam, cum a me Capuam rejiciebam; quod feci non vitandi oneris causa, sed quod videbam teneri illam urbem sine exercitu

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

CAPUA had always been the common ſeminary or place of educating Gladiators for the great men of Rome; where Cæſar had a famous ſchool of them at this time which he had long maintained under the beſt maſters for the occaſions of his public ſhews in the City; and as they were very numerous and well furniſhed with arms, there was reaſon to apprehend that they would break out, and make ſome attempt in favor of their maſter, which might have been of dangerous conſequence in the preſent circumſtances of the Republic; ſo that Pompey thought it neceſſary to take them out of their ſchool, and diſtribute them among the principal Inhabitants of the place, *aſſigning two to each maſter of a family*, by which he ſecured them from doing any miſchief [*k*].

WHILE the Pompeian party was under no ſmall dejection on account of Pompey's quitting the City, and retreating from the approach of Cæſar, T. Labienus, one of the chief Commanders on the other ſide, *deſerted Cæſar*, and came over to them, which added ſome new life to their cauſe, and raiſed an expectation that

citu non poſſe—Ep. Cic. ad Pomp. Ad Att. 8. 11.

As Cicero, when Proconſul of Cilicia, often mentions the *Dioceſes* that were annexed to his government, [Ep. Fam. 13. 67.] ſo in this command of Capua he calls himſelf the *Epiſcopus* of the Campanian coaſt: which ſhews, that theſe names, which were appropriated afterwards in the Chriſtian Church to characters and powers Eccleſiaſtical, carried with them, in their original uſe, the notion of a real authority, and juriſdiction.

[*r*] Gladiatores Cæſaris, qui Capuæ ſunt—ſane commode Pompeius diſtribuit, binos ſingulis patribus familarum. Scutorum in ludo 100 fuerunt eruptionem facturi fuiſſe dicebantur—ſane multum in eo Reip. proviſum eſt. Ad Att. 7. 14.

many

many more would follow his example. Labienus had eminently diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the Gallic war, where next to Cæſar himſelf, he had born the principal part; and by Cæſar's favor, had raiſed an immenſe fortune: ſo that he was much careſſed, and carried about every-where by Pompey, who promiſed himſelf great ſervice from his fame and experience, and eſpecially from his credit in Cæſar's army, and the knowledge of all his counſils: but his account of things, like that of all deſertors, was accommodated rather to pleaſe, than to ſerve his new friends; repreſenting *the weakneſs of Cæſar's troops, their averſion to his preſent deſigns, the diſaffection of the two Gauls, and diſpoſition to revolt*; the contrary of all which was found to be true in the experiment: and as he came to them ſingle, without bringing with him any of thoſe troops with which he had acquired his reputation, ſo his deſertion had no other effect, than to ruin his own fortunes, without doing any ſervice to Pompey [*l*]. A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

BUT what gave a much better proſpect to all honeſt men, was the propoſal of an accommodation, which came about this time from Cæſar;

[*l*] Maximam autem plagam accepit, quod is, qui ſummam auctoritatem in illius exercitu habebat, T. Labienus ſocius ſceleris eſſe noluit: reliquit illum, & nobiſcum eſt: multique idem facturi dicuntur. Ep. Fam. 16. 12.

Aliquantum animi videtur attuliſſe nobis Labienus—ad Att. 7. 13.

Labienum ſecum habet (Pompeius) non dubitantem de imbecillitate Cæſaris copiarum: cujus adventu Cnæus noſter multo animi plus habet. Ib. 7. 16.

Nam in Labieno parum eſt dignitatis. Ib. 8. 2.

——*fortis in armis*
Cæſareis Labienus erat: nunc transfuga vilis——
Lucan. 5. 345.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

who while he was puſhing on the war with incredible vigor, talked of nothing but peace, and endeavoured particularly to perſuade Cicero, "that he had no other view, than to ſecure himſelf from the inſults of his enemies, and yield "the firſt rank in the ſtate to Pompey [*m*]." The conditions were, "that Pompey ſhould go "to his government of Spain, that his new levies ſhould be diſmiſſed, and his garriſons "withdrawn, and that Cæſar ſhould deliver up "his Provinces, the farther Gaul to Domitius, "the hither to Conſidius, and ſue for the Conſulſhip in perſon, without requiring the privilege of abſence." Theſe terms were readily embraced in a grand council of the Chiefs at Capua, and young L. Cæſar, who brought them, was ſent back with letters from Pompey, and the addition onely of one preliminary article, "that "Cæſar in the mean while ſhould recall his "troops from the Towns, which he had ſeized "beyond his Juriſdiction, ſo that the Senate "might return to Rome, and ſettle the whole "affair with honor and freedom [*n*]." Cicero was preſent at this council, of which he gave an account to Atticus; "I came to Capua, *ſays he*, "yeſterday the twenty-ſixth of January, where

[*m*] Balbus major ad me ſcribit, nihil malle Cæſarem, quam, principe Pompeio, ſine metuo vivere. Tu, puto, hæc credis. Ad Att. 8, 9.

[*n*] Feruntur omnino conditiones ab illo, aut, Pompeius eat in Hiſpaniam; dilectus, qui ſunt habiti, & præſidia noſtra dimittantur: ſe ulteriorem Galliam Domitio, citeriorem Conſidio Noniano — traditurum. Ad Conſulatus petitionem ſe venturum; neque ſe jam velle, abſente ſe, rationem ſui haberi. Ep. Fam. 16. 12. ad Att. 7. 14.

Accepimus conditiones; ſed ita, ut removeat præſidia ex iis locis, quæ occupavit, ut ſine metu de iis ipſis conditionibus Romæ Senatus haberi poſſet. Ibid.

"I met

"I met the Conſuls, and many of our order: A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS. "they all wiſh that Cæſar would ſtand to his "conditions, and withdraw his troops: Favo- "nius alone was againſt all conditions impoſed "by Cæſar, but was little regarded by the "Council: for Cato himſelf would now rather "live a ſlave, than fight; and declares, that if "Cæſar recall his garriſons, he will attend the "Senate, when the conditions come to be ſettled, "and not go to Sicily, where his ſervice is "more neceſſary, which I am afraid will be "of ill conſequence——there is a ſtrange va- "riety in our Sentiments; the greateſt part are "of opinion, that Cæſar will not ſtand to his "terms, and that theſe offers are made onely to "hinder our preparations: but I am apt to think "that he will withdraw his troops: for he gets "the better of us by being made Conſul, and "with leſs iniquity, than in the way which he "is now purſuing; and we cannot poſſibly come "off without ſome loſs; for we are ſcandalouſly "unprovided both with ſoldiers, and with money, "ſince all that which was either private in the "City, or public in the treaſury, is left a prey "to him [o]."

DURING the ſuſpence of this treaty, and the expectation of Cæſar's anſwer, Cicero began to conceive ſome hopes that both ſides were relenting, and diſpoſed to make up the quarrel; Cæſar, from a reflection on his raſhneſs, and the Senate on their want of preparation: but he ſtill ſuſpected Cæſar, and the ſending a meſſage ſo important by a perſon ſo inſignificant, *as young Lucius Cæſar, looked*, he ſays, *as if he had done it by way of contempt, or with a view to diſclame it*,

[o] Ad Att. 7, 15.

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eſpecially, when after offering conditions, which were likely to be accepted, he would not ſit ſtill to wait an anſwer, *but continued his march with the ſame diligence, and in the ſame hoſtile manner, as before* [p]. His ſuſpicions proved true; for by letters, which came ſoon after from Furnius and Curio, he perceived, *that they made a mere jeſt of the Embaſſy* [q].

IT ſeems very evident, that Cæſar had no real thoughts of peace, by his paying no regard to Pompey's anſwer, and the trifling reaſons which he gave for ſlighting it [r]: but he had a double view in offering thoſe conditions; for by Pompey's rejecting them, as there was reaſon to expect from his known averſion to any treaty, he hoped to load him with the odium of the war: or by his embracing them, to ſlacken his preparations, and retard his deſign of leaving Italy; whilſt he himſelf, in the mean time, by following him with a celerity that amazed every body [s], might

[p] Spero in præſentia pacem nos habere. Nam & illum furoris, & hunc noſtrum copiarum ſuppœnitet. Ib.

Tamen vereor ut his ipſis (Cæſar) contentus ſit. Nam cum iſta mandata dediſſet L. Cæſari, debuit eſſe paullo quietior, dum reſponſa referrentur. Ib. 7. 17.

Cæſarem quidem, L. Cæſare cum mandatis de pace miſſo, tamen aiunt acerrime loca occupare — ib. 18.

L. Cæſarem vidi — ut id ipſum mihi ille videatur irridendi cauſa feciſſe, qui tantis de rebus huic mandata dederit. niſi forte non dedit, & hic ſermone aliquo arrepto promandatis abuſus eſt — ib. 13.

[q] Accepi litteras tuas, Philotimi, Furnii, Curionis ad Furnium, quibus irridet L. Cæſaris legationem. — ib. 19.

[r] Cæſ. Comment. de Bell. Civ. l. 1.

[s] O celeritatem incredibilem! — ad Att. 7. 22. Cicero calls him a monſter of vigilance, and ſcelerity — [ib. 8. 9.] for from his paſſage of the Rubicon, though he was forced to take in all the great Towns on his road, and ſpent ſeven days before Corfinium, yet in leſs than two

might chance to come up with him before he could embark, and give a deciſive blow to the war; from which he had nothing to apprehend, but it's being drawn into length. "I now plainly "ſee, ſays Cicero, though later indeed than I "could have wiſhed on account of the aſſurances "given me by Balbus, that he aims at nothing "elſe, nor has ever aimed at any thing from the "beginning, but Pompey's life [*t*]."

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IF we conſider this famous *paſſage of the Rubicon*, abſtractedly from the event, it ſeems to have been ſo hazardous and deſperate, that Pompey might reaſonably contemn the thought of it, as of an attempt too raſh for any prudent man to venture upon. If Cæſar's view indeed had been to poſſeſs himſelf onely of Italy, there could have been no difficulty in it: his army was undoubtedly the beſt which was then in the world; fluſhed with victory, animated with zeal for the perſon of their General, and an overmatch for any which could be brought againſt it into the field: but this ſingle army was all that he had to truſt to; he had no reſource: the loſs of one battle was certain ruin to him; and yet he muſt neceſſarily run the riſk of many before he could gain his end: for the whole Empire was armed againſt him; every Province offered a freſh enemy, and a freſh field of action, where he was like to be expoſed to the ſame danger as on the plains of Pharſalia. But above all, his

two months he marched through the whole length of Italy, and came before the gates of Brundiſium before Pompey could embark on the 9th of March. Ad Att. 9. 13.

[*t*] Intelligo ſerius equidem quam vellem, propter epiſtolas ſermoneſque Balbi, ſed video plane nihil aliud agi, nihil actum ab initio, quam ut hunc occideret. Ad Att. 9. 5.

enemies

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enemies were maſters of the ſea, ſo that he could not tranſport his forces abroad without the hazard of their being deſtroyed by a ſuperior fleet, or of being ſtarved at land by the difficulty of conveying ſupplies and proviſions to them: Pompey relied chiefly on this ſingle circumſtance, and was perſuaded, *that it muſt neceſſarily determine the war in his favor* [u]: ſo that it ſeems ſurpriſing, how ſuch a ſuperiority of advantage, in the hands of ſo great a Commander, could poſſibly fail of ſucceſs; and we muſt admire rather the fortune, than the conduct of Cæſar, for carrying him ſafe through all theſe difficulties to the poſſeſſion of the Empire.

CICERO ſeldom ſpeaks of his attempt, but *as a kind of madneſs* [x], and ſeemed to retain ſome hopes to the laſt, that he would not perſiſt in it: the ſame imagination made Pompey and the Senate ſo reſolute to defy, when they were in no condition to oppoſe him. Cæſar on the other hand might probably imagine, that their ſtiffneſs proceeded from a vain conceit of their ſtrength, which would induce them to venture a battle with him in Italy; in which caſe he was ſure enough to beat them: ſo that both ſides were drawn farther perhaps than they intended, by miſtaking each other's view. Cæſar, I ſay, might well apprehend, that they deſigned to try their ſtrength with him in Italy; for that was the conſtant perſuaſion of the whole party, who thought it the beſt ſcheme which could be purſued: Pompey humored them in it, and always talked big to keep up their ſpirits; and though he

[u] Exiſtimat, (Pompeius) qui mare teneat, eum neceſſe rerum potiri—itaque navilis apparatus ei ſemper antiquiſſima cura fuit. Ib. 10. 8.

[x] Cum Cæſar amentia quadam raperetur—Ep. Fam. 16. 12.

ſaw

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ſaw from the firſt *the neceſſity of quitting Italy*, yet he kept the ſecret to himſelf, and wrote word at the ſame time to Cicero, *that he ſhould have a firm army in a few days, with which he would march againſt Cæſar into Picenum, ſo as to give them an opportunity of returning to the City* [y]. The plan of the war, as it was commonly underſtood, was to poſſeſs themſelves of the principal poſts of Italy, and act chiefly on the defenſive, in order to diſtreſs Cæſar by their different armies, cut off his opportunities of forage, hinder his acceſs to Rome, and hold him continually employed, till the veteran army from Spain, under Pompey's Lieutenants, Afranius, Petreius, and Varro, could come up to finiſh his overthrow [z]. This was the notion which the Senate entertained of the war; they never conceived it poſſible that Pompey ſhould ſubmit to the diſgrace of flying before Cæſar, and giving up Italy a prey to his enemy: in this confidence Domitius, with a very conſiderable force, and ſome of the principal Senators, threw himſelf into Corfinium, a ſtrong town at the foot of the Apennine, on the

[y] Omnes nos ἀπροσφωνήτους, expertes ſui tanti & tam inuſitati conſilii relinquebat. Ad Att. 8. 8.

Pompeius—ad me ſcribit, paucis diebus ſe firmum exercitum habiturum, ſpemque affert, ſi in Picenum agrum ipſe venerit, nos Romam redituros eſſe. Ib. 7. 16.

[z] Suſcepto autem bello, aut tenenda ſit urbs, aut ea relicta, ille cõmeatu & reliquis copiis intercludendus—ad Att. 7. 9.

Sin autem ille ſuis conditionibus ſtare noluerit, bellum paratum eſt:—tantummodo ut eum intercludamus, ne ad urbem poſſit accedere: quod ſperabamus fieri poſſe: dilectus enim magnos habebamus—ex Hiſpaniaque ſex legiones & magna auxilia, Afranio & Petreio ducibus, habet a tergo. Videtur, ſi inſaniet, poſſe opprimi, modo ut urbe ſalva—Ep. Fam. 16. 12.

Summa autem ſpes Afranium cum magnis copiis adventare—ad Att. 8. 3.

Adriatic

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Adriatic ſide, where he propoſed to make a ſtand againſt Cæſar, and ſtop the progreſs of his march; but he loſt all his troops in the attempt, to the number of *three Legions*, for want of knowing Pompey's ſecret. Pompey indeed, when he ſaw what Domitius intended, preſſed him earneſtly, by ſeveral Letters, to come away and join with him, telling him, "that it was impoſſible "to make any oppoſition to Cæſar, till their "whole forces were united; and that as to him-"ſelf, he had with him onely the two Legions, "which were recalled from Cæſar, and were not "to be truſted againſt him; and if Domitius "ſhould entangle himſelf in Corfinium, ſo as to "be precluded by Cæſar from a retreat, that he "could not come to his relief with ſo weak an "army, and bad him therefore not to be ſur-"prized to hear of his retiring, if Cæſar ſhould "perſiſt to march towards him [*a*]:" yet Domitius, prepoſſeſſed with the opinion, that Italy was to be *the ſeat of the war*, and that Pompey would never ſuffer ſo good a body of troops, and ſo many of his beſt friends to be loſt, would not quit the advantageous poſt of Corfinium, but depended ſtill on being relieved; and when he was actually beſieged, ſent Pompey word, *how eaſily Cæſar might be intercepted between their two armies* [*b*].

[*a*] Nos disjecta manu pares adverſaris eſſe non poſſumus.——

Quamobrem nolito commoveri, ſi audieris me regredi, ſi forte Cæſar ad me veniet,—etiam atque etiam te hortor, ut cum omni copia quamprimum ad me venias. —vid. Epiſt. Pomp. ad Domit. ad Att. 8. 12.

[*b*] Domitius ad Pompeium—mittit, qui petant atque orent, ut ſibi ſubveniat: Cæſarem duobus exercitibus, & locorum anguſtiis intercludi poſſe, frumentoque prohiberi, &c.

Cæſ. Comment. de Bell. Civ. l. i.

CICERO

CICERO was as much diſappointed as any of the reſt; he had never dreamt of their being obliged to quit Italy, till by Pompey's motions he perceived at laſt his intentions; of which he ſpeaks, with great ſeverity, in ſeveral of his Letters, and begs Atticus's advice upon that new face of their affairs; and to enable Atticus to give it the more clearly, he explains to him in ſhort what occurred to his own mind on the one ſide and the other. "The great obligations, "ſays he, which I am under to Pompey, and "my particular friendſhip with him, as well as "the cauſe of the Republic itſelf, ſeem to per-"ſuade me, that I ought to join my counſils "and fortunes with his. Beſides, if I ſtay be-"hind, and deſert that band of the beſt and "moſt eminent Citizens, I muſt fall under the "power of a ſingle perſon, who gives me many "proofs indeed of being my friend, and whom, "as you know, I had long ago taken care to "make ſuch from a ſuſpicion of this very ſtorm, "which now hangs over us; yet it ſhould be "well conſidered, both how far I may venture "to truſt him, and ſuppoſing it clear, that I "may truſt him, whether it be conſiſtent with "the character of a firm and honeſt Citizen to "continue in that City, in which he has born "the greateſt honors, and performed the great-"eſt acts, and where he is now inveſted with "the moſt honorable Prieſthood, when it is to be "attended with ſome danger, and perhaps with "ſome diſgrace, if Pompey ſhould ever reſtore "the Republic. Theſe are the difficulties on "the one ſide; let us ſee what there are on the "other: nothing has hitherto been done by our "Pompey, either with prudence or courage; "I may add alſo nothing but what was contra-"ry

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" ry to my advice and authority: I will omit
" thoſe old ſtories; how he firſt nurſed, raiſed
" and armed this man againſt the Republic;
" how he ſupported him in carrying his laws by
" violence, and without regard to the Auſpices;
" how he added the farther Gaul to his Govern-
" ment, made himſelf his ſon-in-law, aſſiſted as
" Augur in the Adoption of Clodius, was more
" zealous to reſtore me, than to prevent my
" being expelled; enlarged the term of Cæſar's
" command, ſerved him in all his affairs in his
" abſence, nay, in his third Conſulſhip, after
" he began to eſpouſe the intereſts of the Re-
" public, how he inſiſted, that the ten Tribuns
" ſhould jointly propoſe a law to diſpenſe with
" his abſence in ſuing for the Conſulſhip, which
" he confirmed afterwards by a law of his own,
" and oppoſed the Conſul Marcellus, when he
" moved to put an end to his government on the
" firſt of March: but to omit, I ſay, all this,
" what can be more diſhonorable, or ſhew a
" greater want of conduct than this retreat, or
" rather ſhamefull flight from the City? what
" conditions were not preferable to the neceſſity
" of abandoning our country? the conditions, I
" confeſs, were bad; yet what can be worſe than
" this? but Pompey, you'll ſay, will recover
" the Republic; when? or what preparation is
" there for it? is not all Picenum loſt? is not
" the way left open to the City? is not all our
" treaſure both public and private given up to
" the enemy? in a word, there is no party, no
" forces, no place of rendezvous for the friends
" of the Republic to reſort to; Apulia is choſen
" for our retreat; the weakeſt and remoteſt
" part of Italy, which implies nothing but de-
" ſpair, and a deſign of flying by the opportu-
" nity

" nity of the ſea, *&c.* [*c*]. In another Letter, " there is but one thing wanting, ſays he, to " complete our friend's diſgrace; his failing to " ſuccour Domitius: no body doubts but that " he will come to his relief; yet I am not of " that mind. Will he then deſert ſuch a Citi- " zen, and the reſt, whom you know to be " with him? eſpecially when he has thirty co- " horts in the Town: yes, unleſs all things de- " ceive me, he will deſert him: he is ſtrangely " frightened; means nothing but to fly; yet " you, for I perceive what your opinion is, " think, that I ought to follow this man. For " my part, I eaſily know, whom I ought to fly, " not whom I ought to follow. As to that " ſaying of mine, which you extoll, and think " worthy to be celebrated, *that I had rather be* " *conquered with Pompey, than conquer with Cæ-* " *ſar*; 'tis true, I ſtill ſay ſo; but with ſuch a " Pompey as he then was, or as I took him to " be: but as for this man, who runs away, be- " fore he knows from whom, or whither; who " has betrayed us and ours, given up his coun- " try, and is now leaving Italy; if I had " be conquered with him, the thing is over, I " am conquered, *&c.* [*d*]"

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THERE was a notion in the mean while, that univerſally prevailed through Italy, of *Cæſar's cruel and revengeful temper*, from which horrible effects were apprehended: Cicero himſelf was ſtrongly poſſeſſed with it, as appears from many of his Letters, where he ſeems to take it for granted, that he would be *a ſecond Phalaris, not a Piſiſtratus*; *a bloody, not a gentle Tyrant.* This he inferred from the *violence of his paſt life*; *the*

[*c*] Ad Att. 8. 3. [*d*] Ad Att. 8. 7.

nature

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nature of his preſent enterprize; and above all, from the character of his friends and followers; who were, generally ſpeaking, a needy, profligate, audacious crew; prepared for every thing that was deſperate [*e*]. It was affirmed likewiſe with great confidence, that he had openly declared, *that he was now coming to revenge the deaths of Cn. Carbo, M. Brutus, and all the other Marian Chiefs*, whom Pompey, when acting under Sylla, had cruelly put to death for their oppoſition to the Syllan cauſe [*f*]. But there was no real ground for any of theſe ſuſpicions: for Cæſar, who thought Tyranny, as Cicero ſays, *the greateſt of Goddeſſes*, and whoſe ſole view it had been through life to bring his affairs to this criſis, and to make a bold puſh for Empire, had, *from the obſervation of paſt times, and the fate of former Tyrants*, laid it down for a maxim, *that clemency in victory was the beſt means of ſecuring the ſtability of it* [*g*]. Upon the ſurrender therefore of Corfinium, where he had the firſt opportunity of giving a public ſpecimen of himſelf, he

[*e*] Iſtum cujus Φαλαριτεμὸν times, omnia teterrime facturum puto. Ad Att. 7. 12.

Incertum eſt Phalarimne an Piſiſtratum ſit imitaturus —ib. 20.

Nam cædem video ſi vicerit—— & regnum non modo Romano homini ſed ne Perſæ quidem tolerabile—— ib. 10. 8.

Qui hic poteſt ſe gerere non perdite? vita, mores ante facta, ratio ſuſcepti negotii, ſocii — ib. 9. 2. it. 9. 19.

[*f*] Atque eum loqui quidam αὐθεντικῶς narrabant; Cn. Carbonis, M. Bruti ſe pœnas perſequi, &c. Ad Att. 9. 14.

[*g*] Τὴν θεῶν μεγίςην ὡς' ἔχειν τυραννίδα. Ad Att. 7. 11.

Tentemus hoc modo, ſi poſſumus, omnium voluntates recuperare, & diuturna victoria uti: quoniam reliqui credulitate odium effugere non potuerunt, neq; victoriam diutius tenere, præter unum L. Syllam, quem imitaturus non ſum. Hæc nova ſit ratio vincendi; ut miſericordia & liberalitate nos muniamus. — Ep. Cæſaris ad Opp. Att. 9. 7.

ſhewed

ſhewed a noble example of moderation, by the generous diſmiſſion of Domitius, *and all the other Senators who fell into his hands*; among whom was Lentulus Spinther, Cicero's particular friend [*b*]. This made a great turn in his favor, by eaſing people of the terrors, which they had before conceived of him, and ſeemed to confirm what he affected every where to give out, *that he ſought nothing by the war but the ſecurity of his perſon and dignity*. Pompey, on the other hand, appeared every day more and more deſpicable, by flying before an enemy, whom his pride and perverſeneſs was ſaid to have driven to the neceſſity of taking arms — "tell me, I beg of you, "ſays Cicero, what can be more wretched, than "for the one to be gathering applauſe from the "worſt of cauſes, the other giving offence in "the beſt? the one to be reckoned the preſerver "of his enemies, the other the deſertor of "his friends? and in truth, though I have all "the affection which I ought to have for our "friend Cnæus, yet I cannot excuſe his not "coming to the relief of ſuch men; for if he "was afraid to do it, what can be more paultry? "or if, as ſome think, he thought to make "his cauſe the more popular by their deſtruc-"tion, what can be more unjuſt? *&c.* [*i*]." From this firſt experiment of Cæſar's clemency,

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

[*b*] Cæſ. Comment. I. 1. Plutar. in Cæſ.——

[*i*] Sed obſecro te, quid hoc miſerius, quam alterum plauſus in fœdiſſima cauſa quærere; alterum offenſiones in optima? alterum exiſtimari conſervatorem inimicorum, alterum deſertorem amicorum? & mehercule quamvis amemus Cnæum noſtrum ut & facimus & debemus tamen hoc, quod talibus viris non ſubvenit, laudare non poſſum. Nam ſive timuit quid ignavius? ſive, ut quidam putant, meliorem ſuam cauſam illorum cæde fore putavit, quid injuſtius? —ad Att. 8. 9.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS,

Cicero took occaſion to ſend him a Letter of compliment, and to thank him particularly for his generous treatment of Lentulus, who when Conſul, had been the chief author of his reſtoration; to which Cæſar returned the following anſwer.

Cæſar Emperor to Cicero Emperor.

"You judge rightly of me, for I am thoroughly known to you, that nothing is farther "removed from me than cruelty; and as I have "a great pleaſure from the thing itſelf, ſo I rejoice and triumph to find my act approved by "you: nor does it at all move me, that thoſe, "who were diſmiſſed by me, are ſaid to be gone "away to renew the war againſt me: for I deſire nothing more, than that I may always act "like myſelf; they like themſelves. I wiſh that "you would meet me at the City, that I may "uſe your counſil and aſſiſtance as I have hitherto done in all things. Nothing, I aſſure you, "is dearer to me than Dolabella; I will owe "this favor therefore to him: nor is it poſſible "for him indeed to behave otherwiſe, ſuch is "his humanity, his good ſenſe, and his affection to me. Adieu [*k*]."

WHEN Pompey, after the unhappy affair of Corfinium, found himſelf obliged to retire to Brundiſium, and to declare, what he had never before directly owned, *his deſign of quitting Italy, and carrying the war abroad* [*l*]; he was very deſirous to draw Cicero along with him, and wrote two Letters to him at Formiæ, to preſs him to come away directly; but Cicero, already

[*k*] Ad Att. 9. 16. denique me certiorem conſilii
[*l*] Qui amiſſo Corfinio ſui fecit.—ib. 9. 2.

much out of humor with him, was diſguſted ſtill the more by his ſhort and negligent manner of writing, upon an occaſion ſo important [m]: the ſecond of Pompey's Letters, with Cicero's anſwer, will explain the preſent ſtate of their affairs, and Cicero's ſentiments upon them.

A. Urb. 704, Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

Cn. Pompeius Magnus Proconſul to M. Cicero Emperor.

"IF you are in good health, I rejoice: I read "your Letter with pleaſure: for I perceived in "it your ancient virtue by your concern for the "common ſafety. The Conſuls are come to "the army, which I had in Apulia: I earneſtly "exhort you, by your ſingular and perpetual "affection to the Republic, to come alſo to us, "that by our joint advice we may give help and "relief to the afflicted ſtate. I would have you "make the Appian way your road, and come "in all haſte to Brundiſium. Take care of your "health."

M. Cicero Emperor to Cn. Magnus Proconſul.

"WHEN I ſent that letter, which was deli-"vered to you at Canuſium, I had no ſuſpicion "of your croſſing the ſea for the ſervice of the "Republic, and was in great hopes, that we "ſhould be able, either to bring about an ac-"commodation, which to me ſeemed the moſt "uſeful, or to defend the Republic with the great-"eſt dignity in Italy. In the mean time, be-

[m] Epiſtolarum Pompeii duarum, quas ad me miſit, negligentiam, meamque in ſcribendo diligentiam volui tibi notam eſſe: earum exempla ad te miſi. Ib. 8. 11,

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

" fore my Letter reached you, being informed " of your reſolution, by the inſtructions which " you ſent to the Conſuls, I did not wait till I " could have a Letter from you, but ſet out im- " mediately towards you with my Brother and " our children for Apulia. When we were come " to Theanum, your friend C. Meſſius, and ma- " ny others told us, that Cæſar was on the road " to Capua, and would lodge that very night at " Æſernia: I was much diſturbed at it, becauſe, " if it was true, I not onely took my journey to " be precluded, but myſelf alſo to be certainly " a priſoner. I went on therefore to Cales with " intent to ſtay there, till I could learn from " Æſernia the certainty of my intelligence: at " Cales there was brought to me a copy of the " Letter, which you wrote to the Conſul Lentu- " lus, with which you ſent the copy alſo of one " that you had received from Domitius, dated " the eighteenth of February, and ſignified, " that it was of great importance to the Repub- " lic, that all the troops ſhould be drawn toge- " ther, as ſoon as poſſible, to one place; yet " ſo as to leave a ſufficient Garriſon in Capua. " Upon reading theſe Letters, I was of the ſame " opinion with all the reſt, that you were re- " ſolved to march to Corfinium with all your " forces, whither, when Cæſar lay before the " Town, I thought it impoſſible for me to come. " While this affair was in the utmoſt expecta- " tion, we were informed at one and the ſame " time both of what had happened at Corfinium, " and that you were actually marching towards " Brundiſium: and when I and my Brother re- " ſolved without heſitation to follow you thither, " we were advertiſed by many, who came from " Samnium, and Apulia, to take care that we " did

" did not fall into Cæſar's hands, for that he was upon his march to the ſame places where our road lay, and would reach them ſooner than we could poſſibly do. This being the caſe, it did not ſeem adviſeable to me, or my Brother, or any of our friends, to run the riſk of hurting, not onely ourſelves, but the Republic, by our raſhneſs: eſpecially when we could not doubt, but that if the journey had been ſafe to us, we ſhould not then be able to overtake you. In the mean while I received your Letter, dated from Canuſium the twenty-firſt of February, in which you exhort me to come in all haſte to Brundiſium: but as I did not receive it till the twenty-ninth, I made no queſtion but that you were already arrived at Brundiſium, and all that road ſeemed wholly ſhut up to us, and we ourſelves are ſurely intercepted as thoſe who were taken at Corfinium: for we did not reckon them onely to be priſoners, who were actually fallen into the enemy's hands, but thoſe too not leſs ſo, who happen to be encloſed within the quarters and garriſons of their adverſaries. Since this is our caſe, I heartily wiſh in the firſt place, that I had always been with you, as I then told you when I relinquiſhed the Command of Capua, which I did not do for the ſake of avoiding trouble, but becauſe I ſaw that the Town could not be held without an army, and was unwilling that the ſame accident ſhould happen to me, which to my ſorrow has happened to ſome of our braveſt Citizens at Corfinium: but ſince it has not been my lot to be with you, I wiſh that I had been made privy to your counſils: for I could not poſſibly ſuſpect, and ſhould ſooner have believed any thing, than that for

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

"the good of the Republic, under ſuch a Leader as you, we ſhould not be able to ſtand our ground in Italy: nor do I now blame your conduct, but lament the fate of the Republic; and though I cannot comprehend what it is which you have followed, yet I am not the leſs perſuaded, that you have done nothing but with the greateſt reaſon. You remember, I believe, what my opinion always was; firſt, to preſerve peace even on bad conditions; then about leaving the City; for as to Italy, you never intimated a tittle to me about it: but I do not take upon myſelf to think, that my advice ought to have been followed: I followed yours; not that for the ſake of the Republic, of which I deſpaired, and which is now overturned, ſo as not to be raiſed up again without a civil and moſt pernicious war: I ſought you; deſired to be with you; nor will I omit the firſt opportunity which offers of effecting it. I eaſily perceived, through all this affair, that I did not ſatisfy thoſe who are fond of fighting: for I made no ſcruple to own, that I wiſhed for nothing ſo much as peace; not but that I had the ſame apprehenſions from it as they; but I thought them more tolerable than a civil war; then, after the war was begun, when I ſaw that conditions of peace were offered to you, and a full and honorable anſwer given to them, I began to weigh and deliberate well upon my own conduct, which, conſidering your kindneſs to me, I fancied that I ſhould eaſily explain to your ſatisfaction: I recollected that I was the onely man, who, for the greateſt ſervices to the public, had ſuffered a moſt wretched and cruel puniſhment: that I was the onely one, who, if I

"offended

"offended him, to whom at the very time when A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS. "we were in arms againſt him, a ſecond Conſulſhip and moſt ſplendid Triumph was offered, ſhould be involved again in all the ſame "ſtruggles; ſo that my perſon ſeemed to ſtand "always expoſed as a public mark to the inſults "of profligate Citizens: nor did I ſuſpect any "of theſe things till I was openly threatned with "them, nor was I ſo much afraid of them, if "they were really to befall me, as I judged it "prudent to decline them, if they could honeſtly be avoided. You ſee in ſhort the ſtate "of my conduct while we had any hopes of "peace; what has ſince happened deprived me "of all power to do any thing: but to thoſe "whom I do not pleaſe I can eaſily anſwer, that "I never was more a friend to C. Cæſar than "they, nor they ever better friends to the Republic than myſelf: the onely difference between me and them is, that as they are excellent Citizens, and I not far removed from "that character, it was my advice to proceed "by way of treaty, which I underſtood to be "approved alſo by you; theirs by way of arms; "and ſince this method has prevailed, it ſhall be "my care to behave myſelf ſo, that the Republic may not want in me the ſpirit of a true "Citizen, nor you of a friend. Adieu [n]."

THE diſguſt, which Pompey's management had given him, and which he gently intimates in this Letter, was the true reaſon why he did not join him at his time: he had a mind to delibrate a while longer, before he took a ſtep ſo deciſive: this he owns to Atticus, where, after recounting all the particulars of his own conduct,

[n] Ad Att. 8. 11.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.

which were the moſt liable to exception, he adds, *I have neither done nor omitted to do any thing, which has not both a probable and prudent excuſe—and in truth was willing to conſider a little longer, what was right and fit for me to do* [o]. The chief ground of his deliberation was, that he ſtill thought a peace poſſible, in which caſe Pompey and Cæſar would be one again, and he had no mind to give *Cæſar any cauſe to be an enemy to him, when he was become a friend to Pompey.*

WHILE things were in this ſituation, Cæſar ſent young Balbus after the Conſul Lentulus, to endeavour to perſuade him *to ſtay in Italy, and return to the City*, by the offer of every thing that could tempt him: he called upon Cicero on his way, who gives the following account of it to Atticus: "Young Balbus came to me on the "twenty-fourth in the evening, running in all "haſte by private roads after Lentulus, with Let-"ters and inſtructions from Cæſar, and the offer "of any Government, if he will return to Rome: "but it will have no effect unleſs they happen "to meet: he told me that Cæſar deſired no-"thing ſo much as to overtake Pompey; which "I believe; and to be friends with him again; "which I do not believe; and begin to fear, "that all his clemency means nothing elſe at laſt "but to give that one cruel blow. The elder "Balbus writes me word, that Cæſar wiſhes no-"thing more than to live in ſafety, and yield "the firſt rank to Pompey. You take him I "ſuppoſe to be in earneſt [p]."

CICERO ſeems to think, *that Lentulus might*

[o] Nihil prætermiſſum eſt, quod non habeat ſapientem excuſationem—& plane quid rectum, & quid faciendum mihi eſſet, diutius cogitare malui—ib. 8. 12.

[p] Ad Att. 8. 9.

have been perſuaded to ſtay if Balbus and he had met together; for he had no opinion of the firmneſs of theſe Conſuls, but ſays of them both on another occaſion, *that they were more eaſily moved by every wind, than a feather or a leaf.* He received another Letter ſoon after from Balbus, of which he ſent a copy to Atticus, *that he might pity him*, he ſays, *to ſee what a dupe they thought to make of him* [q]. A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

Balbus to Cicero Emperor.

" I conjure you, Cicero, to think of ſome " method of making Cæſar and Pompey friends " again, who by the perfidy of certain perſons " are now divided: it is a work highly worthy " of your virtue: take my word for it, Cæſar " will not onely be in your power, but think him- " ſelf infinitely obliged to you if you would " charge yourſelf with this affair. I ſhould be " glad if Pompey would do ſo too; but in the " preſent circumſtances, it is what I wiſh rather " than hope, that he may be brought to any " terms: but whenever he gives over flying and " fearing Cæſar, I ſhall not deſpair, that your " authority may have its weight with him. Cæ- " ſar takes it kindly, that you were for Lentu- " lus's ſtaying in Italy, and it was the greateſt " obligation which you could confer upon me: " for I love him as much as I do Cæſar himſelf: " if he had ſuffered me to talk to him as freely " as we uſed to do, and not ſo often ſhunned " the opportunities which I ſought of conferring " with him, I ſhould have been leſs unhappy

[q] Nec me Conſules movent, qui ipſi pluma aut folio facilius moventur—ut vicem meam doleres, cum me derideri videres. Ib. 8. 15.

" than

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS; L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

"than I now am: for aſſure yourſelf that no "man can be more afflicted than I to ſee one, "who is dearer to me than myſelf, acting his "part ſo ill in his Conſulſhip, that he ſeems to "be any thing rather than a Conſul; but ſhould "he be diſpoſed to follow your advice, and take "your word for Cæſar's good intentions, and "paſs the reſt of his Conſulſhip at Rome, I "ſhould begin to hope, that by your authority "and at his motion, Pompey and Cæſar may "be made one again with the approbation even "of the Senate. Whenever this can be brought "about, I ſhall think that I have lived long "enough: you will entirely approve, I am ſure, "what Cæſar did at Corfinium: in an affair of "that ſort, nothing could fall out better, than "that it ſhould be tranſacted without blood. I "am extremely glad, that my Nephew's viſit "was agreeable to you; as to what he ſaid "on Cæſar's part, and what Cæſar's himſelf "wrote to you, I know Cæſar to be very ſin-"cere in it, whatever turn his affairs may "take [r]."

CÆSAR at the ſame time was extremely ſolli-citous, not ſo much to gain Cicero, for that was not to be expected, as to prevail with him *to ſtand neuter*. He wrote to him ſeveral times to that effect, and employed all their common friends to preſs him with Letters on that head [s]: who, by his keeping ſuch a diſtance at this time from Pompey, imagining that they had made ſome Impreſſion, began to attempt a ſecond point with him, viz. *to perſuade him to come back to Rome*,

[r] Ad Att. 8. 15.

[s] Quod quæris quid Cæſar ad me ſcripſerit. Quod ſæpe: gratiſſimum ſibi eſſe quod quierim: oratque ut in eo perſeverem. Balbus minor hæc eadem mandata. Ib. 8. 11.

and

and assist in the councils of the Senate, which Cæsar designed to summon at his return from following Pompey: with this view in the hurry of his march towards Brundisium, Cæsar sent him the following Letter.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coss. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

Cæsar Emperor to Cicero Emperor.

"WHEN I had but just time to see our friend "Furnius, nor could conveniently speak with, "or hear him, was in haste, and on my march, "having sent the Legions before me, yet I could "not pass by without writing, and sending him "to you with my thanks: though I have often "paid this duty before, and seem likely to pay "it oftner, you deserve it so well of me. I de-"sire of you in a special manner, that, as I hope "to be in the City shortly, I may see you there, "and have the benefit of your advice, your in-"terest, your authority, your assistance in all "things. But to return to the point: you will "pardon the haste and brevity of my Letter, "and learn the rest from Furnius." To which Cicero answered.

Cicero Emperor to Cæsar Emperor.

"UPON reading your Letter, delivered to me "by Furnius, in which you pressed me to come "to the City, I did not so much wonder at what "you there intimated of your desire to use my "advice and authority, but was at a loss to find "out what you meant by my interest, and assist-"ance: yet I flattered myself into a persua-"sion, that out of your admirable and singular "wisdom, you were desirous to enter into some "measures for establishing the peace and con-

"cord

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

" cord of the City; and in that caſe I looked
" upon my temper and character as fit enough
" to be employed in ſuch a deliberation. If the
" caſe be ſo, and you have any concern for the
" ſafety of our friend Pompey, and of recon-
" ciling him to yourſelf, and to the Republic,
" you will certainly find no man more proper for
" ſuch a work than I am, who from the very
" firſt have always been the adviſer of peace
" both to him and the Senate; and ſince this
" recourſe to arms have not meddled with any
" part of the war, but thought you to be really
" injured by it, while your enemies and enviers
" were attempting to deprive you of thoſe ho-
" nors, which the Roman people had granted
" you. But as at that time I was not onely a fa-
" vorer of your dignity, but an encourager alſo
" of others to aſſiſt you in it; ſo now the dig-
" nity of Pompey greatly affects me: for many
" years ago I made choice of you two, with
" whom to cultivate a particular friendſhip, and
" to be, as I now am, moſt ſtrictly united.
" Wherefore I deſire of you, or rather beg and
" implore with all my prayers, that in the hurry
" of your cares you would indulge a moment to
" this thought, how by your generoſity I may be
" permitted to ſhew myſelf an honeſt, gratefull,
" pious man, in remembering an act of the
" greateſt kindneſs to me. If this related onely
" to myſelf, I ſhould hope ſtill to obtain it from
" you: but it concerns, I think, both your honor
" and the Republic, that by your means I ſhould
" be allowed to continue in a ſituation the beſt
" adapted to promote the peace of you two, as
" well as the general concord of all the Citizens.
" After I had ſent my thanks to you before on
" the account of Lentulus; for giving ſafety

" to

" to him who had given it to me; yet upon " reading his Letter, in which he expreſſes the " moſt gratefull Senſe of your liberality, I took " myſelf to have received the ſame grace from " you, which he had done: towards whom, if " by this you perceive me to be gratefull, let it " be your care, I beſeech you, that I may be ſo " too towards Pompey [*t*]."

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

CICERO was cenſured for ſome paſſages of this Letter, which Cæſar took care to make public, *viz.* the compliment on *Cæſar's admirable wiſdom*; and above all, the acknowledgement *of his being injured by his adverſaries in the preſent war:* in excuſe of which, he ſays, " that he was not ſorry " for the publication of it, for he himſelf had " given ſeveral copies of it; and conſidering " what had ſince happened, was pleaſed to have " it known to the world how much he had al- " ways been inclined to peace; and that, in urg- " ing Cæſar to ſave his Country, he thought it " his buſineſs to uſe ſuch expreſſions as were the " moſt likely to gain authority with him, with- " out fearing to be thought guilty of flattery, " in urging him to an act, for which he would " gladly have thrown himſelf even at his " feet [*u*]."

HE received another Letter on the ſame ſubject, and about the ſame time, written jointly by

[*t*] Ad Att. 9. 6, 11.

[*u*] Epiſtolam meam quod pervulgatam ſcribis eſſe non fero moleſte. Quin etiam ipſe multis dedi deſcribendam. Ea enim & acciderunt jam & impendent, ut teſtatum eſſe velim de pace quid ſenſerim. Cum autem eum hortarer, cum præſertim hominem, non videbar ullo modo facilius moturus, quam ſi id, quod eum hortarer, convenire ejus ſapientiæ dicerem. Eam ſi admirabilem dixi, cum eum ad ſalutem patriæ hortarer, non ſum veritus, ne viderer aſſentiri, cui tali in re lubenter me ad pedes abjeciſſem, &c. Ib. 8. 9.

Balbus

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

Balbus and Oppius, two of Cæſar's chief confidents.

Balbus and Oppius to M. Cicero.

"THE advice, not onely of little men, ſuch "as we are, but even of the greateſt, is gene- "rally weighed, not by the intention of the "giver, but the event; yet relying on your hu- "manity, we will give you what we take to be "the beſt in the caſe about which you wrote to "us; which, though it ſhould not be found pru- "dent, yet certainly flows from the utmoſt fide- "lity and affection to you. If we did not know "from Cæſar himſelf, that, as ſoon as he comes "to Rome, he will do what in our judgement "we think he ought to do, treat about a recon- "ciliation between him and Pompey, we ſhould "give over exhorting you to come and take "part in thoſe deliberations; that by your help, "who have a ſtrict friendſhip with them both, "the whole affair may be ſettled with eaſe and "dignity: or, if on the contrary, we believed "that Cæſar would not do it, and knew that he "was reſolved upon a war with Pompey, we "ſhould never try to perſuade you, to take arms "againſt a man to whom you have the greateſt "obligations, in the ſame manner as we have al- "ways entreated you, not to fight againſt Cæſar, "But ſince at preſent we can onely gueſs rather "than know what Cæſar will do, we have no- "thing to offer but this, that it does not ſeem "agreeable to your dignity, or your fidelity, ſo "well known to all, when you are intimate with "them both, to take arms againſt either: and "this we do not doubt but Cæſar, according to "his humanity, will highly approve; yet if you

"judge

" judge proper, we will write to him, to let us know what he will really do about it; and if he returns us an anſwer, will preſently ſend you notice, what we think of it, and give you our word, that we will adviſe onely, what we take to be moſt ſuitable to your honor, not to Cæſar's views; and are perſuaded, that Cæſar, out of his indulgence to his friends, will be pleaſed with it [x]." This joint Letter was followed by a ſeparate one from Balbus.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

Balbus to Cicero Emperor.

" IMMEDIATELY after I had ſent the common Letter from Oppius and myſelf, I received one from Cæſar, of which I have ſent you a copy; whence you will perceive how deſirous he is of peace, and to be reconciled with Pompey, and how far removed from all thoughts of cruelty. It gives me an extreme joy, as it certainly ought to do, to ſee him in theſe ſentiments. As to yourſelf, your fidelity, and your piety, I am intirely of the ſame mind, my dear Cicero, with you, that you cannot, conſiſtently with your character and duty, bear arms againſt a man to whom you declare yourſelf ſo greatly obliged: that Cæſar will approve this reſolution, I certainly know from his ſingular humanity; and that you will perfectly ſatisfy him, by taking no part in the war againſt him, nor joining yourſelf to his adverſaries; this he will think ſufficient, not onely from you a perſon of ſuch dignity and ſplendor, but has allowed it even to me, not to be found in that camp which is likely

[x] Ad Att. 9. 8.

" to

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" to be formed againſt Lentulus and Pompey, from
" whom I have received the greateſt obligations:
" it was enough, he ſaid, if I performed my
" part to him in the City and the gown, which
" I might perform alſo to them if I thought fit:
" wherefore I now manage all Lentulus's affairs
" at Rome, and diſcharge my duty, my fidelity,
" my piety to them both: yet in truth I do not take
" the hopes of an accommodation, though now
" ſo low, to be quite deſperate, ſince Cæſar is in
" that mind in which we ought to wiſh him:
" one thing would pleaſe me, if you think it
" proper, that you would write to him, and de-
" ſire a guard from him, as you did from Pom-
" pey, at the time of Milo's trial, with my ap-
" probation: I will undertake for him, if I right-
" ly know Cæſar, that he will ſooner pay a re-
" gard to your dignity, than to his own intereſt.
" How prudently I write theſe things, I know
" not; but this I certainly know; that whatever
" I write, I write out of a ſingular love and af-
" fection to you: for (let me die, ſo as Cæſar
" may but live) if I have not ſo great an eſteem
" for you, that few are equally dear to me.
" When you have taken any reſolution in this
" affair, I wiſh that you would let me know it,
" for I am exceedingly ſollicitous that you ſhould
" diſcharge your duty to them both, which in
" truth I am confident you will diſcharge. Take
" care of your health [*y*]."

THE offer of a guard was artfully inſinuated; for while it carried an appearance of honor and reſpect to Cicero's perſon, it muſt neceſſarily have made him Cæſar's priſoner, and deprived him of the liberty of retiring, when he found it proper,

[*y*] Ad Att. 9. 8.

out

out of Italy: but he was too wiſe to be caught by it, or to be moved in any manner by the Letters themſelves, to entertain the leaſt thought of going to Rome, ſince to aſſiſt in the Senate, when Pompey and the Conſuls were driven out of it, was in reality to take part againſt them. What gave him a more immediate uneaſineſs, was the daily expectation of an interview with Cæſar himſelf, who was now returning from Brundiſium by the road of Formiæ, where he then reſided: for though he would gladly have avoided him, if he could have contrived to do it decently, yet to leave the place juſt when Cæſar was coming to it, could not fail of being interpreted as a particular affront: he reſolved therefore *to wait for him, and to act on the occaſion with a firmneſs and gravity, which became his rank and character.*

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THEY met as he expected, and he ſent Atticus the following account of what paſſed between them: "My diſcourſe with him, ſays he, "was ſuch as would rather make him think "well of me than thank me. I ſtood firm in "refuſing to go to Rome; but was deceived in "expecting to find him eaſy; for I never ſaw "any one leſs ſo: he was condemned, he ſaid, "by my judgement; and, if I did not come, "others would be the more backward: I told "him that their caſe was very different from "mine. After many things ſaid on both ſides, "he bad me come however and try to make "peace: ſhall I do it, ſays I, in my own way? "do you imagine, replied he, that I will pre-"ſcribe to you? I will move the Senate, then, "ſays I, for a decree againſt your going to Spain, "or tranſporting your troops into Greece, and "ſay a great deal beſides in bewailing the caſe of "Pompey:

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"Pompey: I will not allow, replied he, ſuch "things to be ſaid: ſo I thought, ſays I, and "for that reaſon will not come; becauſe I muſt "either ſay them, and many more, which I "cannot help ſaying, if I am there, or not come "at all. The reſult was; that to ſhift off the "diſcourſe, he wiſhed me to conſider of it; "which I could not refuſe to do, and ſo we "parted. I am perſuaded, that he is not pleaſed "with me; but I am pleaſed with myſelf; which "I have not been before of a long time. As "for the reſt; good Gods, what a crew he has "with him! what a helliſh band, as you call "them!——what a deplorable affair! what de-"ſperate troops! what a lamentable thing, to ſee "Servius's ſon, and Titinius's, with many more "of their rank in that camp, which beſieged "Pompey! he has ſix legions; wakes at all "hours; fears nothing; I ſee no end of this ca-"lamity. His declaration at the laſt, which I "had almoſt forgot, was odious; that if he was "not permitted to uſe my advice, he would uſe "ſuch as he could get from others, and purſue "all meaſures which were for his ſervice [z]."

From this conference, Cicero went directly to Arpinum, and there inveſted his ſon, *at the age of ſixteen, with the manly gown:* he reſolved to carry him along with him to Pompey's camp, and thought it proper to give him an air of manhood before he enliſted him into the war: and ſince he could not perform that ceremony at Rome, choſe to oblige his countrymen, by celebrating this Feſtival in his native City [a].

[z] Ad Att. 9. 18.

[a] Ego meo Ciceroni, quoniam Roma caremus, Arpini potiſſimum togam puram dedi, idque municipibus noſtris fuit gratum—ib. 19.

WHILE

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

WHILE Cæſar was on the road towards Rome, young Quintus Cicero, the nephew, a fiery giddy youth, privately wrote to him to offer his ſervice, with a promiſe of ſome information concerning his uncle; upon which, being ſent for and admitted to an audience, he aſſured Cæſar, *that his Uncle was utterly diſaffected to all his meaſures, and determined to leave Italy and go to Pompey.* The boy was tempted to this raſhneſs *by the hopes of a conſiderable preſent*, and gave much uneaſineſs by it both to the Father and the Uncle, *who had reaſon to fear ſome ill conſequence from it* [*b*]: but Cæſar deſiring ſtill to divert Cicero from declaring againſt him, and to quiet the apprehenſions which he might entertain for what was paſt, took occaſion to ſignify to him in a kind Letter from Rome, that he retained *no reſentment of his refuſal to come to the City, though Tullus and Servius complained, that he had not ſhewn the ſame indulgence to them——ridiculous men*, ſays Cicero, *who, after ſending their ſons to beſiege Pompey at Brundiſium, pretend to be ſcrupulous about going to the Senate* [*c*].

CICERO's behaviour however and reſidence *in thoſe villa's* of his, which were neareſt to the ſea,

[*b*] Litteras ejus ad Cæſarem miſſas ita graviter tulimus, ut te quidem celaremus ——tantum ſcito poſt Hirtium conventum, arceſſitum, ab Cæſare; cum eo de meo animo ab ſuis conſiliis alieniſſimo, & conſilio relinquendi Italiam—ib. 10. 4, 5, &c.

Quintum puerum accepi vehementer. Avaritiam video fuiſſe, & ſpem magni congiarii. Magnum hoc malum eſt.—ib. 10. 7.

[*c*] Cæſar mihi ignoſcit per litteris, quod non Romam venerim, ſe ſeque in optimam partem id accipere dicit. Facile patior, quod ſcribit, ſecum Tullum & Servium queſtos eſſe, quia non idem ſibi, quod mihi remiſiſſet. Homines ridiculos, qui cum filios miſiſſent ad Cn. Pompeium circumſidendum, ipſi in ſenatum venire dubitarent. Ib. 10. 3.

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gave riſe to a general report that he was waiting onely for a wind to carry him over to Pompey; upon which Cæſar ſent him another preſſing Letter, to try, if poſſible, to diſſuade him from that ſtep.

Cæſar Emperor, to Cicero Emperor.

" Though I never imagined that you would do " any thing raſhly or imprudently, yet moved by " common report, I thought proper to write to " you, and beg of you by our mutual affection, " that you would not run to a declining cauſe, " whither you did not think fit to go while it " ſtood firm. For you will do the greateſt injury to our friendſhip, and conſult but ill for " yourſelf, if you do not follow, where fortune " calls: for all things ſeem to have ſucceded moſt " proſperouſly for us, moſt unfortunately for " them: nor will you be thought to have followed the cauſe, (ſince that was the ſame, when " you choſe to withdraw yourſelf from their councils) but to have condemned ſome act of mine; " than which you can do nothing that could " affect me more ſenſibly, and what I beg by " the rights of our friendſhip, that you would " not do. Laſtly, what is more agreeable to " the character of an honeſt, quiet man, and " good Citizen, than to retire from civil broils? " from which ſome, who would gladly have " done it, have been deterred by an apprehenſion of danger: but you, after a full teſtimony " of my life, and trial of my friendſhip, will " find nothing more ſafe or more reputable, than " to keep yourſelf clear from all this contention. " The 16th of April on the road [*d*]."

[*d*] Ad Att. x. 8.

ANTONY alſo, whom Cæſar left to guard Italy in his abſence, wrote to him to the ſame purpoſe, and on the ſame day. A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

Antonius Tribun of the people and Proprætor, to Cicero Emperor.

" If I had not a great eſteem for you, and " much greater indeed than you imagine, I " ſhould not be concerned at the report which " is ſpread of you, eſpecially when I take it to " be but falſe. But out of the exceſs of my af- " fection, I cannot diſſemble, that even a report, " though falſe, makes ſome impreſſion on me. " I cannot believe that you are preparing to croſs " the ſea, when you have ſuch a value for Dola- " bella, and your daughter Tullia, that excel- " lent woman, and are ſo much valued by us all, " to whom in truth your dignity and honor are " almoſt dearer than to yourſelf: yet I did not " think it the part of a friend not to be moved " by the diſcourſe even of ill-deſigning men, " and wrote this with the greater inclination, as " I take my part to be the more difficult on the " account of our late coldneſs, occaſioned rather " by my jealouſy, than any injury from you. " For I deſire you to aſſure yourſelf, that no- " body is dearer to me than you, excepting my " Cæſar, and that I know alſo that Cæſar " reckons M. Cicero in the firſt claſs of his " friends. Wherefore I beg of you, my Ci- " cero, that you will keep yourſelf free and un- " determined, and deſpiſe the fidelity of that " man who firſt did you an injury, that he might " afterwards do you a kindneſs; nor fly from " him, who, though he ſhould not love you, " which is impoſſible, yet will always deſire to " ſee you in ſafety and ſplendor. I have ſent

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

" Calpurnius to you with this, the moſt intimate of my friends, that you might perceive " the great concern which I have for your life " and dignity [*e*]."

CAELIUS alſo wrote to him on the ſame ſubject; but finding by ſome hints in Cicero's anſwer, that he was actually preparing to run away to Pompey, he ſent him a ſecond Letter, in a moſt pathetic, or as Cicero calls it, *lamentable ſtrain* [*f*], in hopes to work upon him by alarming all his fears.

Caelius to Cicero.

" BEING in a conſternation at your Letter, " by which you ſhew that you are meditating " nothing but what is diſmal, yet neither tell " me directly what it is, nor wholly hide it from " me, I preſently wrote this to you. By all " your fortunes, Cicero, by your children, I " beg and beſeech you, not to take any ſtep injurious to your ſafety: for I call the gods and " men, and our friendſhip to witneſs, that what " I have told, and forewarned you of, was not " any vain conceit of my own, but after I had " talked with Cæſar, and underſtood from him, " how he reſolved to act after his victory, I informed you of what I had learnt. If you " imagine that his conduct will always be the " ſame, in diſmiſſing his enemies and offering " conditions, you are miſtaken: he thinks and " even talks of nothing but what is fierce and " ſevere, and is gone away much out of humor " with the Senate, and thoroughly provoked by " the oppoſition which he has met with, nor will

[*e*] Ibid.
[*f*] M. Cælii epiſtolam ſcriptam miſerabiliter — ib. x. 9.

" there

" there be any room for mercy. Wherefore, if you
" yourſelf, your onely ſon, your houſe, your
" remaining hopes be dear to you: if I, if
" the worthy man, your ſon-in-law, have any
" weight with you, you ſhould not deſire to
" overturn our fortunes, and force us to hate or
" to relinquiſh that cauſe in which our ſafety
" conſiſts, or to entertain an impious wiſh againſt
" yours. Laſtly, reflect on this, that you have
" already given all the offence which you can
" give, by ſtaying ſo long behind; and now to
" declare againſt a Conqueror, whom you would
" not offend, while his cauſe was doubtful, and
" to fly after thoſe who run away, with whom
" you would not join, while they were in con-
" dition to reſiſt, is the utmoſt folly. Take
" care, that while you are aſhamed not to ap-
" prove yourſelf one of the beſt Citizens, you
" be not too haſty in determining what is the
" beſt. But if I cannot wholly prevail with
" you, yet wait at leaſt till you know how we
" ſuccede in Spain, which, I now tell you, will
" be ours as ſoon as Cæſar comes thither. What
" hopes they may have when Spain is loſt, I
" know not; and what your view can be in ac-
" ceding to a deſperate cauſe, by my faith I
" cannot find out. As to the thing, which you
" diſcover to me by your ſilence about it, Cæſar
" has been informed of it; and after the firſt ſa-
" lutation, told me preſently what he had heard
" of you: I denied that I knew any thing of
" the matter, but begged of him to write to
" you in a manner the moſt effectual, to make
" you ſtay. He carries me with him into Spain;
" if he did not, I would run away to you where-
" ever you are, before I came to Rome, to diſ-
" pute this point with you in perſon, and hold

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.

" you faſt even by force. Conſider, Cicero, " again and again, that you do not utterly ruin " both you and yours; that you do not knowingly " and willingly throw yourſelf into difficulties, " whence you ſee no way to extricate " yourſelf. But if either the reproaches of the " better ſort touch you, or you cannot bear the " inſolence and haughtineſs of a certain ſet of " men, I would adviſe you to chuſe ſome place " remote from the war, till theſe conteſts be " over, which will ſoon be decided: if you do " this, I ſhall think that you have done wiſely, " and you will not offend Cæſar [*g*]."

CAELIUS's advice, as well as his practice, was grounded upon a maxim, which he had before advanced in a Letter to Cicero, *that in a public diſſenſion, as long as it was carried on by civil methods, one ought to take the honeſter ſide; but when it came to arms, the ſtronger; and to judge that the beſt which was the ſafeſt* [*b*]. Cicero was not of his opinion, but governed himſelf in this, as he generally did, in all other caſes, by a contrary rule; *that where our duty and our ſafety interfere, we ſhould adhere always to what is right, whatever danger we incur by it.*

CURIO paid Cicero *a friendly viſit of two days* about this time on his way towards Sicily, the command of which Cæſar had committed to him. Their converſation turned on the unhappy condition of the times, and the impending miſeries of the war, in which Curio was open, and without any reſerve, in talking of Cæſar's

[*g*] Ep. Fam. 8. 16.

[*b*] Illud te non arbitror fugere; quin homines in diſſenſione domeſtica debeant, quamdiu civiliter ſine armis cernetur, honeſtiorem ſequi partem: ubi ad bellum & caſtra ventum ſit, firmiorem: & id melius ſtatuere, quod tutius ſit. Ep. Fam. 8. 14.

views

views: "He exhorted Cicero to chuſe ſome "neutral place for his retreat; aſſured him, that "Cæſar would be pleaſed with it; offered him "all kind of accommodation and ſafe paſſage "through Sicily; made not the leaſt doubt, but "that Cæſar would ſoon be maſter of Spain, "and then follow Pompey with his whole force; "and that Pompey's death would be the end of "the war: but confeſſed withal, that he ſaw "no proſpect or glimmering of hope for the "Republic: ſaid, that Cæſar was ſo provoked "by the Tribun Metellus at Rome, that he "had a mind to have killed him, as many of "his friends adviſed; that if he had done it, "a great ſlaughter would have enſued; that "his clemency flowed, not from his natural "diſpoſition, but becauſe he thought it po-"pular; and if he once loſt the affections of "the people, he would be cruel: that he was "diſturbed to ſee the people ſo diſguſted by his "ſeizing the public treaſure; and though he "had reſolved to ſpeak to them before he left "Rome, yet he durſt not venture upon it for "fear of ſome affront, and went away at laſt "much diſcompoſed [*i*]."

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THE leaving *the public treaſure at Rome a prey to Cæſar*, is cenſured more than once by Cicero, as one of the blunders of his friends [*k*]: but it is a common caſe in civil diſſenſions, for the honeſter ſide, through the fear of diſcrediting their cauſe by any irregular act, to ruin it by an unſeaſonable moderation. The public money was kept *in the Temple of Saturn*; and the Conſuls contented themſelves with *carrying away the keys*, fancying, that the ſanctity of the place

[*i*] Ad Att. x. 4. [*k*] Ib. 7. 12, 15.

would

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

would ſecure it from violence; eſpecially when the greateſt part of it was a *fund of a ſacred kind, ſet apart by the laws for occaſions* onely of the laſt exigency, *or the terror of a Gallic invaſion* [*l*]. Pompey was ſenſible of the miſtake, when it was too late, and ſent inſtructions to the Conſuls to go back and fetch away *this ſacred treaſure:* but Cæſar was then ſo far advanced, that they durſt not venture upon it; and Lentulus coldly ſent him word, *that he himſelf ſhould firſt march againſt Cæſar into Picenum, that they might be able to do it with ſafety* [*m*]. Cæſar had none of theſe ſcruples; but as ſoon as he came to Rome, ordered "the doors of the Temple to "be broken open, and the money to be ſeized "for his own uſe; and had like to have killed "the Tribun Metellus," who truſting to the authority of his office, was ſilly enough to attempt to hinder him. He found there an immenſe treaſure, "both in coin and wedges of "ſolid gold, reſerved from the ſpoils of con-"quered nations from the time even of the "Punic war: for the Republic, *as Pliny ſays*, "had never been richer than it was at this "day [*n*]."

CICERO was now impatient to be gone, and the more ſo, on account of the inconvenient pomp of *his Laurel, and Lictors, and ſtile of Emperor*; which in a time of that jealouſy and diſtraction expoſed him too much to the eyes of the public, as well as to *the taunts and raillery*

[*l*] Dio. p. 161.

[*m*] C. Caſſius —— attulit mandata ad Conſules, ut Romam venirent, pecuniam de ſanctiore ærario auferrent— Conſul reſcripſit, ut prius ipſe in Picenum—ad Att. 7. 21.

[*n*] Nec fuit aliis temporibus Reſpub. locupletior. Plin. Hiſt. 33. 3.

of

of his enemies [o]. He reſolved to croſs the ſea to Pompey; yet knowing all his motions to be narrowly watched, took pains to conceal his intention, eſpecially from Antony, who reſided at this time in his neighbourhood, and kept a ſtrict eye upon him. He ſent him word therefore by Letter, that he had, "no deſign againſt Cæſar; "that he remembered his friendſhip, and his "ſon-in-law Dolabella; that if he had other "thoughts, he could eaſily have been with "Pompey; that his chief reaſon for retiring "was to avoid the uneaſineſs of appearing in "public with the formality of his Lictors [p]." But Antony wrote him a ſurly anſwer; which Cicero calls *a Laconic Mandate*, and ſent a copy of it to Atticus, *to let him ſee*, he ſays, *how tyrannically it was drawn.*

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

"How ſincere is your way of acting? for "he, who has a mind to ſtand neuter, ſtays at "home; he, who goes abroad, ſeems to paſs a "judgement on the one ſide or the other. But "it does not belong to me to determine, whe-"ther a man may go abroad or not. Cæſar has "impoſed this taſk upon me, not to ſuffer any "man to go out of Italy. Wherefore it ſigni-"fies nothing for me to approve your reſoluti-"on, if I have no power to indulge you in it. "I would have you write to Cæſar, and aſk "that favor of him: I do not doubt but you

[o] Accedit etiam moleſta hæc pompa lictorum meorum, nomenque imperii quo appellor.—ſed incurrit hæc noſtra laurus non ſolum in oculos, ſed jam etiam in oculas malevolorum ——— Ep. Fam 2. 16.

[p] Cum ego ſæpiſſime ſcripſiſſem, nihil me contra Cæſaris rationes cogitare; meminiſſe me generi mei, meminiſſe amicitiæ, potuiſſe ſi aliter ſentirem, eſſe cum Pompeio, me autem, quia cum lictoribus invitus curſarem, abeſſe velle—ad Att, x. 10.

"will

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

"will obtain it, eſpecially ſince you promiſe to "retain a regard for our friendſhip [q]."

AFTER this Letter, Antony never came to ſee him, but ſent an excuſe, *that he was aſhamed to do it, becauſe he took him to be angry with him*, giving him to underſtand at the ſame time by Trebatius, *that he had ſpecial orders to obſerve his motions* [r].

THESE Letters give us the moſt ſenſible proof of the high eſteem and credit in which Cicero floriſhed at this time in Rome: when in a conteſt for Empire, which force alone was to decide, we ſee the Chiefs on both ſides ſo ſollicitous to gain a man to their party, who had no peculiar ſkill in arms or talents for war: but his name and authority was the acquiſition which they ſought; ſince whatever was the fate of their arms, the world, they knew, would judge better of the cauſe which Cicero eſpouſed. The ſame Letters will confute likewiſe in a great meaſure the common opinion of his want of reſolution in all caſes of difficulty, ſince no man could ſhew a greater than he did on the preſent occaſion, when againſt the importunities of his friends, and all the invitations of a ſucceſsfull power, he choſe to follow that cauſe which he thought the beſt, though he knew it to be the weakeſt.

DURING Cæſar's abſence in Spain, Antony, who had nobody to controul him at home, gave a free courſe to his natural diſpoſition, and indulged himſelf without reſerve in all the ex-

[q] Ad Att. x. 10.

[r] Nominatim de me ſibi imperatum dicit Antonius, nec me tamen ipſe adhuc viderat, ſed hoc Trebatio narravit. Ib. x. 12.

Antonius—ad me miſit, ſe pudore deterritum ad me non veniſſe, quod me ſibi ſuccenſere putaret—ib. x. 15.

ceſs

ceſs of lewdneſs and luxury. Cicero deſcribing his uſual equipage in travelling about Italy, ſays, "he carries with him in an open Chaiſe the "famed Actreſs Cytheris; his wife follows in a "ſecond, with ſeven other cloſe Litters, full of "his whores and boys. See by what baſe hands "we fall; and doubt, if you can, whether Cæ-"ſar, let him come vanquiſhed or victorious, "will not make cruel work amongſt us at his "return. For my part, if I cannot get a ſhip, "I will take a boat to tranſport myſelf out of "their reach; but I ſhall tell you more after I "have had a conference with Antony [*s*]." Among Antony's other extravagancies, he had the inſolence to appear ſometimes in public, *with his miſtreſs Cytheris in a Chariot drawn by Lions.* Cicero alluding to this, in a Letter to Atticus, tells him jocoſely, *that he need not be afraid of Antony's Lions* [*t*]; for though the beaſts were ſo fierce, the maſter himſelf was very tame.

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PLINY ſpeaks of this fact, *as a deſigned inſult on the Roman people*; as if *by the emblem of the Lions, Antony intended to give them to underſtand, that the fierceſt ſpirits of them would be forced to ſubmit to the yoke* [*u*]: Plutarch alſo mentions it; but

[*s*] Hic tamen Cytheridem ſecum lectica aperta portat, altera uxorem: ſeptem præterea conjunctæ lecticæ ſunt amicarum, an amicorum? vide quam turpi leto pereamus: & dubita, ſi potes, quin ille ſeu victus, ſeu victor redierit, cædem facturus ſit. Ego vero vel lintriculo, ſi navis non erit, eripiam me ex iſtorum parricidio. Sed plura ſcribam cum illum convenero —ib. x. 10.

[*t*] Tu Antonii leones pertimeſcas, cave Nihil eſt illo homine jucundius. Ib. x. 13.

[*u*] Jugo ſubdidit eos, primuſque Romæ ad currum junxit Antonius; & quidem civili bello cum dimicatum eſſet in Pharſalicis campis; non ſine oſtento quodam temporum,

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but both of them place it *after the battle of Pharſalia*, though it is evident from this hint of it given by Cicero, that it happened long before.

WHILST Cicero continued at Formiæ, deliberating on the meaſures of his conduct, he formed ſeveral *political theſes's*, adapted to the circumſtances of the times, for the amuſement of his ſolitary hours: "Whether a man ought "to ſtay in his country, when it was poſſeſſed "by a Tyrant: whether one ought not by all "means to attempt the diſſolution of the Ty-"ranny, though the City on that account was "expoſed to the utmoſt hazard: whether there "was not cauſe to be afraid of the man who "ſhould diſſolve it, leſt he ſhould advance him-"ſelf into the other's place: whether we ſhould "not help our country by the methods of peace, "rather than war: whether it be the part of a "Citizen to ſit ſtill in a neutral place, while "his country is oppreſſed, or to run all hazards "for the ſake of the common liberty: whe-"ther one ought to bring a war upon his city, "and beſiege it, when in the hands of a Ty-"rant: whether a man, not approving the diſ-"ſolution of a Tyranny by war, ought not to "join himſelf however to the beſt Citizens: "whether one ought to act with his benefactors "and friends, though they do not in his opi-"nion take right meaſures for the public inte-"reſt: whether a man, who has done great "ſervices to his country, and for that reaſon

porum, generoſus ſpiritus jugum ſubire illo prodigio ſignificante: nam quod ita vectus eſt cum mima Cytheride, ſupra monſtra etiam illarum calamitatum fuit. —— Plin. Hiſt. 16. 8.

" has been envied and cruelly treated, is ſtill " bound to expoſe himſelf to freſh dangers for " it, or may not be permitted at laſt to take " care of himſelf and his family, and give up " all political matters to the men of power—— " by exerciſing myſelf, *ſays he*, in theſe queſtions, " and examining them on the one ſide and the " other, I relieve my mind from its preſent an- " xiety, and draw out ſomething which may be " of uſe to me [*x*]."

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FROM the time of his leaving the City, together with Pompey and the Senate, there paſſed not a ſingle day in which he did not write *one or more Letters to Atticus* [*y*], the onely friend whom he truſted with the ſecret of his thoughts. From theſe letters it appears, that the ſumm of Atticus's advice to him agreed intirely with his own ſentiments, *that if Pompey remained in Italy, he ought to join with him; if not, ſhould ſtay behind, and expect what freſh accidents might produce* [*z*]. This was what Cicero had hitherto followed; and as to his future conduct, though he ſeems ſometimes to be a little wavering and irreſolute, yet the reſult of his deliberations conſtantly turned in favor of Pompey. His perſonal affection for the man, preference of his cauſe, the re-

[*x*] In his ego me conſultationibus exercens, diſſerens in utramque partem, tum græce tum latine, abduco parumper animum a moleſtiis & τῷ πράγματι delibero. Ad Att. 9. 4.

[*y*] Hujus autem epiſtolæ non ſolum ea cauſa eſt, ut ne quis a me dies intermittetur, quin dem ad te litteras, ſed —ib. 8. 12.

Alteram tibi eodem die hanc epiſtolam dictavi, & pridie dederam mea manu longiorem—ib. x. 3.

[*z*] Ego quidem tibi non ſim auctor, ſi Pompeius Italiam relinquit, te quoque profugere, ſummo enim periculo facies, nec Reipub. proderis; cui quidem poſterius poteris prodeſſe, ſi manſeris —ib. 9. 10.

proaches

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proaches of the better ſort, who began to cenſure his tardineſs, and above all, *his gratitude for favors received*, which had ever the greateſt weight with him, made him reſolve at all adventures to run after him; and though he was diſpleaſed with his management of the war, *and without any hopes of his ſucceſs* [a]; though he knew him before *to be no politician, and now perceived him*, he ſays, *to be no general*; yet with all his faults, he could not endure the thought of deſerting him, nor hardly forgive himſelf for ſtaying ſo long behind him: "For as in love, ſays he, any thing dirty "and indecent in a miſtreſs will ſtifle it for the "preſent, ſo the deformity of Pompey's con-"duct put me out of humor with him; but "now that he is gone, my love revives, and "I cannot bear his abſence, *&c.* [b]."

WHAT held him ſtill a while longer was *the tears of his family, and the remonſtrances of his daughter Tullia*; who entreated him *to wait only the iſſue of the Spaniſh war, and urged it as the advice of Atticus* [c]. He was paſſionately fond of this daughter; and with great reaſon; for ſhe was a woman of ſingular accompliſhments, with

[a] Ingrati animi crimen horreo—ib. 9. 2, 5, 7.

Nec mehercule hoc facio Reipub. cauſa, quam funditus deletam puto, ſed nequis me putet ingratum in eum, qui me levavit iis incommodis, quibus ipſe affecerat—ib. 9. 19.

Fortunæ ſunt committenda omnia. Sine ſpe conamur ulla. Si melius quid acciderit mirabimur—ib. x. 2.

[b] Sicut ἐν τοῖς ἀροδικοῖς, alienant immundæ, inſulſæ, indecoræ: ſic me illius fugæ, negligentiæque deformitas avertit ab amore—nunc emergit amor, nunc deſiderium ferre non poſſum. Ib. 9. 10.

[c] Sed cum ad me mea Tullia ſcribat, orans, ut quid in Hiſpania geratur expectem, & ſemper adſcribat idem videri tibi—ib. x. 8.

Lacrymæ meorum me interdum molliunt, precantium, ut de Hiſpaniis expectemus—ib. x. 9.

the

the utmoſt affection and piety to him: ſpeaking of her to Atticus, "how admirable, ſays he, is "her virtue? how does ſhe bear the public ca- "lamity? how her domeſtic diſguſts? what a "greatneſs of mind did ſhe ſhew at my parting "from them? in ſpight of the tenderneſs of her "love, ſhe wiſhes me to do nothing but what "is right, and for my honor [*d*]." But as to the affair of Spain, he anſwered, "that what- "ever was the fate of it, it could not alter the "caſe with regard to himſelf; for if Cæſar ſhould "be driven out of it, his journey to Pompey "would be leſs welcome and reputable, ſince "Curio himſelf would run over to him: or if the "war was drawn into length, there would be no "end of waiting: or laſtly, if Pompey's army "ſhould be beaten, inſtead of ſitting ſtill, as they "adviſed, he thought juſt the contrary, and ſhould "the rather chuſe to run away from the violence "of ſuch a victory. He reſolved therefore, *he "ſays*, to act nothing craftily: but whatever be- "came of Spain, to find out Pompey as ſoon as "he could, in conformity to Solon's law, who "made it capital for a Citizen not to take part "in a civil diſſenſion [*e*]."

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[*d*] Cujus quidem virtus mirifica. Quomodo illa fert publicam cladem? quomodo domeſticas tricas? quantus autem animus in diſceſſu noſtro? ſit σοφγὴ, ſit ſumma εὐήθεια; tamen nos recte facere & bene audire vult. Ib. x. 8.

[*e*] Si pelletur, quam gratus aut quam honeſtus tum erit ad Pompeium noſter adventus, cum ipſum Curionem ad ipſum tranſiturum putem? ſi trahitur bellum, quid expectem, aut quamdiu? relinquitur, ut ſi vincimur in Hiſpania, quieſcamus. Id ego contra puto: iſtum enim victorem relinquendum magis puto, quam victum—ibid.—

Aſtute nihil ſum acturus; fiat in Hiſpania quidlibet. Ib. x. 6.

Ego vero Solonis—legem negligam, qui capite ſanxit, ſi qui in ſeditione non alterutrius partis fuiſſet—ib. x. 1.

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BEFORE his going off, Servius Sulpicius ſent him word from Rome, that *he had a great deſire to have a conference with him, to conſult in common what meaſures they ought to take.* Cicero conſented to it, in hopes to find Servius in the ſame mind with himſelf, and to have his company to Pompey's camp: for in anſwer to his meſſage, he intimated his own intention *of leaving Italy*; and if Servius was not in the ſame reſolution, adviſed him *to ſave himſelf the trouble of the journey, though if he had any thing of moment to communicate, he would wait for his coming* [*f*]. But at their meeting he found him ſo timorous and deſponding, and ſo full of ſcruples upon every thing which was propoſed, that inſtead of preſſing him to the ſame conduct with himſelf, he found it neceſſary to conceal his own deſign from him: "of all the men, ſays he, whom I have met "with, he is alone a greater Coward than C. "Marcellus, who laments his having been "Conſul; and urges Antony to hinder my "going, that he himſelf may ſtay with a better "grace [*g*]"

CATO, whom Pompey had ſent to poſſeſs himſelf of Sicily, thought fit to quit that poſt;

[*f*] Sin autem tibi homini prudentiſſimo videtur utile eſſe, nos colloqui, quanquam longius etiam cogitabam ab urbe diſcedere, cujus jam etiam nomen invitus audio, tamen propius accedam—— Ep. Fam. 4. 1.

Reſtat ut diſcedendum putem; in quo reliqua videtur eſſe deliberatio, quod conſilium in diſceſſu, quæ loca ſequamur—ſi habes jam ſtatutum, quid tibi agendum putes, in quo non ſit conjunctum conſilium tuum cum meo, ſuperſedeas hoc labore itineris—ib. 4. 2.

[*g*] Servii conſilio nihil expeditur. Omnes captiones in omni ſententia occurrunt. Unum C. Marcello cognovi timidiorem, quem Conſulem fuiſſe pœnitet — qui etiam Antonium confirmaſſe dicitur ut me impediret, quo ipſe, credo, honeſtius.—Ad Att. x. 15.

and

and yield up the Iſland to Curio, who came likewiſe to ſeize it on Cæſar's part with a ſuperior force. Cicero was much ſcandalized at Cato's conduct, being perſuaded that he might have held his poſſeſſion without difficulty, and that all honeſt men would have flocked to him, eſpecially *when Pompey's fleet was ſo near to ſupport him:* for if that had but once appeared on the coaſt, and begun to act, Curio himſelf, as he confeſſed, *would have run away the firſt. I wiſh*, ſays Cicero, *that Cotta may hold out Sardinia as it is ſaid he will: for if ſo, how baſe will Cato's act appear* [*b*]. A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

IN theſe Circumſtances, while he was preparing all things for his voyage, and waiting onely for a fair wind, he removed from his *Cuman to his Pompeian Villa beyond Naples*, which, not being ſo commodious for an embarkment, would help *to leſſen the ſuſpicion of his intended flight* [*i*]. Here he received a private meſſage from the Officers of three Cohorts, which were in garriſon at Pompeii, to beg leave to wait upon him the day following, in order to deliver up their troops and the town into his hands; but inſtead of liſtening to the overture, he ſlipt away the next morning before day to avoid ſeeing them; ſince ſuch a force or a greater could be of no ſer-

[*b*] Curio mecum vixit—Siciliæ diffidens, ſi Pompeius navigare cœpiſſet—ib. x. 7.

Curio—Pompeii claſſem timebat: quæ ſi eſſet, ſe de Sicilia arbiturum. Ib. x. 4.

Cato qui Siciliam tenere nullo negotio potuit, & ſi tenuiſſet, omnes boni ad eum ſe contuliſſent, Syracuſis profectus eſt a. d. 8. Kal. Maii—utinam, quod aiunt, Cotta Sardiniam teneat. Eſt enim rumor. O, ſi id fuerit, turpem Catonem!—ib. x. 16.

[*i*] Ego ut minuerim ſuſpicionem profectionis,—profectus ſum in Pompeianum a. d. IIII Id. Ut ibi eſſem, dum quæ ad navigandum opus eſſent, pararentur, Ib.

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vice there; and he was apprehenſive that it was deſigned onely as a trap for him [*k*].

THUS purſuing at laſt the reſult of all his deliberations, and preferring the conſideration of duty to that of his ſafety, he embarked to follow Pompey; and though from the nature of the war, he plainly ſaw and declared, "that it "was a contention onely for rule; yet he "thought *Pompey the modeſter, honeſter and* "*juſter King of the two*; and if he did not con- "quer, that the very name of the Roman peo- "ple would be extinguiſhed; or if he did, that "it would ſtill be after the manner and pattern "of Sylla, with much cruelty and blood [*l*]." With theſe melancholy reflections he ſet ſail *on the eleventh of June* [*m*], "ruſhing, as he tells "us,

[*k*] Cum ad villam veniſſem, ventum eſt ad me, Centuriones trium Cohortium, quæ Pompeiis ſunt, me velle poſtridie; hæc mecum Ninnius noſſet, velle eos mihi ſe, & oppidum tradere. At ego tibi poſtridie a villa ante lucem, ut me omnino illi non viderunt. Quid enim erat in tribus cohortibus? quid ſi plures, quo apparatu?—& ſimul fieri poterat, ut tentaremur. Omnem igitur ſuſpicionem ſuſtuli—ibid.

[*l*] Dominatio quæſita ab utroque eſt. Ib. 8. 11.

Regnandi contentio eſt; in qua pulſus eſt modeſtior Rex & probior & integrior; & is, qui niſi vincit, nomen populi Romani deleatur neceſſe eſt: ſin autem vincit Sylla- no more, exemploque vincet —ib. x. 7.

[*m*] a. d. 111. Id. Jun. Ep. Fam. 14. 7. It is remarkable, that among the reaſons, which detained Cicero in Italy longer than he intended, he mentions the *tempeſtuous weather of the Equinox, and the calms that ſucceded it*; yet this was about the end of May [ad Att. x. 17. 18.] which ſhews what a ſtrange confuſion there was at this time in the Roman Kalendar; and what neceſſity for that reformation of it, which Cæſar ſoon after effected, in order to reduce the computation of their months to the regular courſe of the ſeaſons from which they had ſo widely varied. Some of the commentators,

" us, knowingly and willingly into voluntary " deſtruction, and doing juſt what cattel do " when driven by any force, running after thoſe " of his own kind; for as the ox, *ſays he*, fol- " lows the herd, ſo I follow the honeſt, or " thoſe at leaſt, who are called ſo, though it be " to certain ruin [*n*]." As to his brother Quintus, he was ſo far from deſiring his company in this flight, that *he preſſed him to ſtay in Italy* on account of his perſonal obligations to Cæſar, and the relation he had born to him: yet Quintus would not be left behind; but declared, *that he would follow his Brother, whitherſoever he ſhould lead, and think that party right which he ſhould chuſe for him* [*o*].

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WHAT gave Cicero a more particular abhorrence of the war, into which he was entering, was, to ſee Pompey on all occaſions affecting to imitate Sylla, and to hear him often ſay with a ſuperior air, *could Sylla do ſuch a thing, and cannot I do it?* as if determined to make Sylla's victory the pattern of his own. He was now in much the ſame circumſtances in which that Conqueror

tators, for want of attending to this cauſe, are ſtrangely puzzled to account for the difficulty; and one of them ridiculouſly imagines, that by the *Equinox*, Cicero covertly means Antony, who uſed to make *his days and nights equal*, by ſleeping as much as he waked.

[*n*] Ego prudens ac ſciens ad peſtem ante oculos poſitam tum profectus. [Ep. Fam. 6. 6.]

Prudens & ſciens tanquam ad interitum ruerem voluntarium. [pro M. Marcel. 5.] quid ergo acturus es? idem, quod pecudes, quæ diſpulſæ ſui generis ſequuntur greges. Ut bos armenta, ſic ego bonos viros, aut eos, quicunque dicentur boni, ſequar, etiam ſi ruent—ad Att. 7. 7.

[*o*] Fratrem—ſocium hujus fortunæ eſſe non erat æquum: cui magis etiam Cæſar iraſcetur. Sed impetrare non poſſum, ut maneat. [ib. 9. 1.] frater, quicquid mihi placeret, id rectum ſe putare aiebat. Ib. 9. 6.

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had once been; ſuſtaining the cauſe of the Senate by his arms, and treated as an enemy by thoſe who poſſeſſed Italy; and as he flattered himſelf with the ſame good fortune, ſo he was meditating the ſame kind of return, and threatening ruin and proſcription to all his enemies. This frequently ſhocked Cicero, as we find from many of his Letters, to conſider with what cruelty and effuſion of civil blood the ſucceſs even of his own friends would certainly be attended [*p*].

WE have no account of the manner and circumſtances of his voyage, or by what courſe he ſteered towards Dyrrhachium; for after his leaving Italy, all his correſpondence with it was in great meaſure cut off, ſo that from June, in which he ſailed, we find an intermiſſion of about nine months in the ſeries of his Letters, and not more than four of them written to Atticus during the continuance of the war [*q*]. He arrived however ſafely in Pompey's camp with *his ſon, his brother, and nephew*, committing the fortunes of the whole family to the iſſue of that cauſe: and that he might make ſome amends for coming ſo late, and gain the greater authority with his party, *he furniſhed Pompey, who was in great want of money, with a large ſumm out of his own ſtock for the public ſervice* [*r*].

[*p*] Quam crebro illud, *Sylla potuit, ego non potero?*— Ita *Syllaturit* animus ejus, & *proſcripturit* diu. [Att. 9. x.] Cnæus noſter *Syllani regni* ſimilitudinem concupivit, εἴδως σοι λέγω. [ib. 7.] ut non nominatim ſed generatim proſcriptio eſſet informata. Ib. xi. 9.

[*q*] Vid. Ad Att. xi. 1, 2, 3, 4.

[*r*] Etſi egeo rebus omnibus, quod is quoque in anguſtiis eſt, quicum ſumus, cui magnam dedimus pecuniam mutuam, opinantes nobis, conſtitutis rebus, eam rem etiam honore fore. [ib. xi. 3.] ſi quas habuimus facultates, eas Pompeio tum, cum id videbamur ſapienter facere, detulimus. Ib. 13.

BUT

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

BUT as he entered into the war with reluctance, ſo he found nothing in it but what increaſed his diſguſt: he diſliked every thing *which they had done, or deſigned to do; ſaw nothing good amongſt them but their cauſe*; and that their own counſels would ruin them: for all the chiefs of the party truſting to the ſuperior fame and authority of Pompey, and dazzled with the ſplendor of the troops, which the Princes of the Eaſt had ſent to their aſſiſtance, aſſured themſelves of victory; and, without reflecting on the different character of the two armies, would hear of nothing but fighting. It was Cicero's buſineſs therefore to diſcourage this wild ſpirit, and to repreſent the hazard of the war, the force of Cæſar, and the probability of his beating them, if ever they ventured a battel with him: but all his remonſtrances were ſlighted, and *he himſelf reproached as timorous and cowardly by the other Leaders: though nothing afterwards happened to them, but what he had often foretold* [*s*]. This ſoon made him *repent of embarking in a cauſe ſo imprudently conducted*; and it added to his diſcontent, to find himſelf even *blamed by Cato for coming to them at all*; and deſerting that neutral poſt, which might have given him the better opportuuity of bringing about an accommodation [*t*].

IN this diſagreeable ſituation he declined all employment, and finding his counſils wholly

[*s*] Quippe mihi nec quæ accidunt, nec quæ aguntur, ullo modo probantur. [ib. xi. 4.] nihil boni præter cauſam. [Ep. Fam. 7. 3.] itaque ego, quem tum tortes illi viri, Domitii & Lentuli, timidum eſſe dicebant, &c. [ib. 6. 28.] quo quidem in bello, nihil adve ſi accidit non prædicente me. Ib. 6.

[*t*] Cujus me mei facti pœnituit, non tam propter periculum meum, quam propter vitia multa, quæ ibi offendi, quo veneram. Ib. 7. 3.—Plutar. in Cic.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.

ſlighted, reſumed his uſual way of raillery, and what he could not diſſuade by his authority, endeavoured to make ridiculous by his *jeſts*. This gave occaſion afterwards to Antony, in a ſpeech to the Senate, to cenſure the levity of his behaviour in the calamity of a civil war, and to reflect not onely upon his fears, but the unſeaſonableneſs alſo of his *jokes*: to which Cicero anſwered, "that "though their camp indeed was full of care "and anxiety, yet in circumſtances the moſt "turbulent, there were certain moments of re"laxation, which all men, who had any huma"nity in them, were glad to lay hold on: but "while Antony reproached him both with de"jection and joking at the ſame time, it was a "ſure proof that he had obſerved a proper tem"per and moderation in them both [*u*]."

[*u*] Ipſe fugi adhuc omne munus eo magis, quod ita nihil poterat agi, ut mihi & meis rebus aptum eſſet. [Att. xi. 4.] Quod autem idem mœſtitiam meam reprehendit idem jocum; magno argumento eſt, me in utroque fuiſſe moderatum. Phil. 2. 16.

Some of Cicero's ſayings on this occaſion are preſerved by different writers. When Pompey put him in mind of *his coming ſo late* to them: how can *I come late*, ſaid he, *when I find nothing in readineſs among you?*—and upon Pompey's aſking him ſarcaſtically, *where his ſon-in-law Dolabella was; he is with your Father-in-law*, replied he. To a perſon newly arived from Italy, and informing them of a ſtrong report at Rome, *that Pompey was blocked up by Cæſar*; and *you ſailed hither therefore*, ſaid he, *that you might ſee it with your own eyes*. And even after their defeat, when Nonnius was exhorting them to courage, becauſe there were *ſeven eagles ſtill left in Pompey's camp*; *you encourage well*, ſaid he, *if we were to fight with Jackdaws*. By the frequency of theſe ſplenetic jokes, he is ſaid to have provoked Pompey ſo far as to tell him, *I wiſh that you would go over to the other ſide, that you may begin to fear us*. Vid. Macrob. Saturn. 2. 3. Plutar. in Cicer.

YOUNG

YOUNG Brutus was alſo in Pompey's camp, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a peculiar zeal: which Cicero mentions as the more remarkable, becauſe he had always profeſſed *an irreconcileable hatred to Pompey, as to the murderer of his Father* [x]. But he followed the cauſe, not the man; ſacrificing all his reſentments to the ſervice of his country, and looking now upon Pompey *as the General of the Republic*, and the defender of their common liberty. A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coſſ. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

DURING the courſe of this war Cicero never ſpeaks of Pompey's conduct but *as a perpetual ſucceſſion of blunders*. His firſt ſtep *of leaving Italy* was condemned indeed by all, *but particularly by Atticus*; yet to us at this diſtance, it ſeems not onely to have been prudent, but neceſſary [y]. What ſhocked people ſo much at it was the diſcovery that it made of his weakneſs and want of preparation; and after the ſecurity which he had all along affected, and the defiance ſo oft declared againſt his adverſary, it made him appear contemptible to run away at laſt on the firſt approach of Cæſar: "Did you ever ſee, ſays Cælius, a "more ſilly creature than this Pompey of yours; "who, after raiſing all this buſtle, is found to "be ſuch a trifler? or did you ever read or hear "of a man more vigourous in action, more tem- "perate in victory, than our Cæſar [z]?"

POMPEY

[x] Brutus amicus in cauſa verſatur acriter. Ad Att. xi. 4.

Vid. Plutar. in Brut. & Pomp.

[y] Quorum dux quam ἀσπαλιώγνιος, tu quoque animadvertis, cui ne Picena quidem nota ſunt: quam autem ſine concilio, res teſtis. Ad Att. 7. 13.

Si iſte Italiam relinquet, faciet omnino male, & ut ego exiſtimo ἀλογίστως, &c. ib. 9. 10.

[z] Ecquando tù hominem ineptiorem quam tuum Cn. Pompeium vidiſti? qui tantas turbas, qui tam nugax eſſet commorit? ecquem autem

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POMPEY had left Italy about a year before Cæſar found it convenient to go after him; during which time he had gathered a vaſt fleet from all the *maritime States and Cities dependent on the Empire*, without making any uſe of it to diſtreſs an enemy who had no fleet at all: he ſuffered Sicily and Sardinia to fall into Cæſar's hands, without a blow; and the important town of Marſeilles, after having endured a long ſiege for its affection to his cauſe: but his capital error was the giving up Spain, and neglecting to put himſelf at the head of the beſt army that he had, in a country devoted to his intereſts, and commodious for the operations of his naval force: when Cicero firſt heard of this reſolution, he thought it *monſtrous* [*a*]; and in truth, the committing that war to his Lieutenants againſt the ſuperior genius and aſcendant of Cæſar, was the ruin of his beſt troops and hopes at once.

SOME have been apt to wonder, why Cæſar, after forcing Pompey out of Italy, inſtead of croſſing the ſea after him, when he was in no condition to reſiſt, ſhould leave him for the ſpace of a year to gather armies and fleets at his leiſure, and ſtrengthen himſelf, with all the forces of the Eaſt. But Cæſar had good reaſons for what he did: he knew that all the troops, which could be drawn together from thoſe countries, were no match for his; that if he had purſued him directly to Greece, and driven him out of it, as he

tem Cæſare noſtro acriorem in rebus agendis, eodem in victoria temperatiorem, aut legiſti aut audiſti? Ep. Fam. 8. 15.

[*a*] Omnis hæc claſſis Alexandria, Colchis, Tyro, Sidone, Cypro, Pamphylia, Lycia, Rhodo, &c. ad intercludendos Italiæ commeatus —comparatur—ad Att. 9. 9.

Nunciat Ægyptum—cogitare; Hiſpanium abjeciſſe. Monſtra narrunt——ad Att. 9. 11.

had

had done out of Italy, he ſhould have driven him probably into Spain, where of all places he deſired the leaſt to meet him; and where in all events Pompey had a ſure reſource, as long as it was poſſeſſed by a firm and veteran army; which it was Cæſar's buſineſs therefore to deſtroy in the firſt place, or he could expect no ſucceſs from the war; and there was no opportunity of deſtroying it ſo favorably, as when Pompey himſelf was at ſuch a diſtance from it. This was the reaſon of his marching back with ſo much expedition to find, as he ſaid, *an army without a General, and return to a General without an army* [*b*]. The event ſhewed, that he judged right; for within *forty days* from the firſt ſight of his enemy in Spain, he made himſelf maſter of the whole Province [*c*].

A. Urb. 705. Cic. 59. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR II. P. SERVILIUS VATIA ISAURICUS.

AFTER the reduction of Spain, he was created *Dictator by M. Lepidus*, then *Prætor at Rome*, and by his *Dictatorial* power declared himſelf Conſul, with P. Servilius Iſauricus; but he was no ſooner inveſted with this office, than he marched to Brundiſium, and embarked on the fourth of January, in order to find out Pompey. The carrying about in his perſon the ſupreme dignity of the Empire, added no ſmall authority to his cauſe, by making the Cities and States abroad the more cautious of acting againſt him, or giving them a better pretence at leaſt *for opening their gates to the Conſul of Rome*—[*d*]. Cicero all this while deſpairing of any good from

[*b*] Ire ſe ad exercitum ſine duce, & inde reverſurum ad ducem ſine exercitu. Sueton. J. Cæſ. 34.

[*c*] Cæſ. Comment. l. 2.

[*d*] Illi ſe daturos negare, neque portas Conſuli præcluſuros. Cæſ. Comm. l. 3. 590.

the

A. Urb. 705. Cic. 59. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR II. P. SERVILIUS VATIA ISAURICUS.

the war, had been uſing all his endeavours to diſpoſe his friends to peace, till Pompey forbad any farther mention of it in council, declaring, *that he valued neither life nor country, for which he muſt be indebted to Cæſar, as the world muſt take the caſe to be, ſhould he accept any conditions in his preſent circumſtances* [e]. He was ſenſible that he had hitherto been acting a contemptible part, and done nothing equal to the great name which he had acquired in the world; and was determined therefore, to retrieve his honor before he laid down his arms, by the deſtruction of his adverſary, or to periſh in the attempt.

DURING the blockade of Dyrrhachium, it was a current notion in Cæſar's army, *that Pompey would draw off his troops into his ſhips, and remove the war to ſome diſtant place.* Upon this Dolabella, who was with Cæſar, ſent a Letter to Cicero into Pompey's Camp, exhorting him, "that if Pompey ſhould be driven from theſe "quarters, to ſeek ſome other country, he would "ſit down quietly at Athens, or any City remote "from the war: that it was time to think of his "own ſafety, and be a friend to himſelf, rather "than to others, that he had now fully ſatisfied "his duty, his friendſhip, and his engagements to "that party, which he had eſpouſed in the Re-"public: that there was nothing left, but to be, "where the Republic itſelf now was, rather than

[e] Deſperans victoriam, primum cœpi ſuadere pacem, cujus fueram ſemper auctor; deinde cum ab ea ſententia Pompeius valde abhorreret. Ep. Fam. 7. 3.

Vibullius —— de Cæſaris mandatis agere inſtituit; eum ingreſſum in ſermonem Pompeius interpellavit, & loqui plura prohibuit. Quid mihi, inquit, aut vita aut civitate opus eſt, quam beneficio Cæſaris habere videbor? Cæſ. Comm. 3. 596.

"by

A. Urb. 705. Cic. 59. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR II. P. SERVILIUS VATIA ISAURICUS.

" by following that ancient one to be in none at " all —— and that Cæſar would readily approve " this conduct [*f*]:" but the war took a quite different turn; and inſtead of *Pompey's running away from Dyrrhachium*, Cæſar, by an unexpected defeat before it, was forced to retire the firſt, and leave to Pompey the credit of purſuing him, as in a kind of flight towards Macedonia.

WHILE the two armies were thus employed, Cælius, now Prætor at Rome, truſting to his power, and the ſucceſs of his party, began to publiſh ſeveral violent and odious laws, eſpecially one *for the cancelling of all debts* [*g*]. This raiſed a great flame in the City, till he was over-ruled and depoſed from his magiſtracy by the Conſul Servilius, and the Senate: but being made deſperate by this affront, he recalled Milo from his exil at Marſeilles, whom Cæſar had refuſed to reſtore; and, in concert with him, reſolved to raiſe ſome public commotion in favor of Pompey. In this diſpoſition he wrote his laſt Letter to Cicero; in which, after an account of his converſion, and the ſervice which he was projecting, " You are aſleep, ſays he, and do not know how " open and weak we are here: what are you do- " ing? are you waiting for a battel, which is " ſure to be againſt you? I am not acquainted " with your troops; but ours have been long uſed " to fight hard; and to bear cold and hunger with

[*f*] Illud autem a te peto, ut, ſi jam ille evitaverit hoc periculum, & ſe abdiderit in claſſem, tu tuis rebus conſulas: & aliquando tibi potius quam cuivis, ſis amicus. Satis factum eſt jam a te vel officio, vel familiaritati; ſatisfactum etiam partibus, & ei Reipub. quam tu probabas Reliquum eſt, ubi nunc eſt Reſpub. ibi ſimus potius, quam dum veterem illam ſequamur, ſimus in nulla. Ep. Fam. 9. 9.

[*g*] Cæſ. Comment. 3. 600.

" eaſe.

A. Urb. 705. Cic. 59. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR II. P. SERVILIUS VATIA ISAURICUS.

" eaſe [*b*]." But this diſturbance, which began to alarm all Italy, was ſoon ended by the death of the Authors of it, Milo and Cælius; who periſhed in their raſh attempt, being deſtroyed by the ſoldiers, whom they were endeavouring to debauch. They had both attached themſelves very early to the intereſts and the authority of Cicero, and were qualified by their parts and fortunes to have made a principal figure in the Republic, if they had continued in thoſe ſentiments, and adhered to his advice; but their paſſions, pleaſures, and ambition got the aſcendant; and through a factious and turbulent life hurried them on to this wretched fate.

ALL thoughts of peace being now laid aſide, Cicero's next advice to Pompey was, to draw the war into length, nor ever to give Cæſar the opportunity of a battel. Pompey approved this counſil, and purſued it for ſome time, till he gained the advantage above-mentioned before Dyrrhachium; which gave him ſuch a confidence in his own troops, and ſuch a contempt of Cæſar's, " that from this moment, ſays Cicero, " this great man ceaſed to be a General; op- " poſed a raw, new-raiſed army, to the moſt " robuſt and veteran Legions; was ſhamefully " beaten; and, with the loſs of his Camp, forced " to fly away alone [*i*]."

[*b*] Vos dormitis, nec hæc adhuc mihi videmini intelligere, quam nos pateamus, & quam ſimus imbecilli — quid iſtic facitis? prælium expectatis, quod firmiſſimum eſt? veſtras copias non novi. Noſtri valde depugnare, & facile algere & eſurire conſueverint. Ep. Fam. 8. 17.

[*i*] Cum ab ea ſententia Pompeius valde abhorreret, ſuadere inſtitui, ut bellum duceret: hoc interdum probabat & in ea ſententia videbatur fore, & fuiſſet fortaſſe, niſi quadam ex pugna cœpiſſet militibus ſuis confidere. Ex eo tempore vir ille ſummus nullus Imperator fuit: victus turpiſſime, amiſſis etiam caſtris, ſolus fugit. Ep. Fam. 7. 3.

HAD

HAD Cicero's advice been followed, Cæſar muſt inevitably have been ruined: for Pompey's fleet would have cut off all ſupplies from him by ſea; and it was not poſſible for him to ſubſiſt long at land; while an enemy, ſuperior in number of troops, was perpetually haraſſing him, and waſting the country: and the report every where ſpread of his flying from Dyrrhachium before a victorious army, which was purſuing him, made his march every way the more difficult, and the people of the country more ſhy of aſſiſting him: till the deſpicable figure, that he ſeemed to make, raiſed ſuch an impatience for fighting, and aſſurance of victory in the Pompeian chiefs, as drew them to the fatal reſolution of giving him battel at Pharſalia. There was another motive likewiſe ſuggeſted to us by Cicero, which ſeems to have had no ſmall influence in determining Pompey to this unhappy ſtep; his ſuperſtitious regard to *omens, and the admonitions of Diviners*; to which *his nature was ſtrongly addicted.* The Haruſpices were all on his ſide, and flattered him with every thing that was proſperous: and beſides thoſe in his own camp, the whole fraternity of them at Rome were ſending him perpetual accounts of the *fortunate and auſpicious ſignifications which they had obſerved in the entrails* of their victims [*k*]. A. Urb. 705. Cic. 59. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR. II. P. SERVILIUS VATIA ISAURICUS.

BUT after all, it muſt needs be owned, that Pompey had a very difficult part to act, and much leſs liberty of executing what he himſelf approved, than in all the other wars, in which he had been engaged. In his wars againſt foreign

[*k*] Hoc civili bello, Dii immortales! —— quæ nobis in Græciam Româ reſponſa Haruſpicum miſſa ſunt? quæ dicta Pompeio? —— etenim ille admodum extis & oſtentis movebatur. De Div. 2. 24.

enemies,

A. Urb. 705. Cic. 59. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR II. P. SERVILIUS VATIA ISAURICUS.

enemies, his power was abſolute, and all his motions depended on his own will; but in this, beſides ſeveral Kings and Princes of the Eaſt, who attended him in perſon, he had with him in his Camp almoſt all the chief Magiſtrates and Senators of Rome; men of equal dignity with himſelf, who had commanded armies, and obtained triumphs, and expected a ſhare in all his counſils, and that in their common danger, no ſtep ſhould be taken, but by their common advice: and as they were under no engagement to his cauſe, but what was voluntary, ſo they were neceſſarily to be humored, leſt through diſguſt they ſhould deſert it. Now theſe were all uneaſy in their preſent ſituation, and longed to be at home in the enjoyment of their eſtates and honors; and having a confidence of victory from the number of their troops, and the reputation of their Leader, were perpetually teizing Pompey to the reſolution of a battel; charging him with a deſign to protract the war, for the ſake of perpetuating his authority; and calling him another Agamemnon, *who was proud of holding ſo many Kings and Generals under his command* [*l*]; till, being unable to withſtand their reproaches any longer, he was driven by a kind of ſhame, and againſt his judgement, to the experiment of a deciſive action.

CÆSAR was ſenſible of Pompey's difficulty, and perſuaded, that he could not ſupport the indignity of ſhewing himſelf afraid of fighting; and

[*l*] Καὶ ἐπὶ τῶδε αὐτὸν βασιλέα ὡ Αγαμέμνονα καλοῦντων, ὅτι τοσούτων βασιλέων διὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἦρχεν; ἐξέφη τῶν οἰκείων λογισμῶν, ἃ ἐνέδωκεν αὐτοῖς. App. p. 470.

Milites otium, ſocii moram, Principes ambitum ducis increpabant. Flor. l. 4. 2. Dio. p. 185. Plut. in Pomp.

from

from that aſſurance expoſed himſelf often more raſhly than prudence would otherwiſe juſtify: for his beſieging Pompey at Dyrrhachium, who was maſter of the ſea, which ſupplied every thing to him that was wanted, while his own army was ſtarving at land; and the attempt to block up entrenchments ſo widely extended, with much ſmaller numbers than were employed to defend them, muſt needs be thought raſh and extravagant, were it not for the expectation of drawing Pompey by it to a general engagement: for when he could not gain that end, his perſeverance in the ſiege had like to have ruined him, and would inevitably have done ſo, if he had not quitted it, as he himſelf afterwards owned [*m*]. A. Urb. 705. Cic. 59. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR II. P. SERVILIUS VATIA ISAURICUS.

IT muſt be obſerved likewiſe, that, while Pompey had any walls or entrenchments between him and Cæſar, not all Cæſar's vigor, nor the courage of his veterans, could gain the leaſt advantage againſt him; but on the contrary, that Cæſar was baffled and diſappointed in every attempt. Thus at Brundiſium he could make no impreſſion upon the Town, till Pompey at full leiſure had ſecured his retreat, and embarked his troops: and at Dyrrhachium, the onely conſiderable action, which happened between them, was not onely diſadvantageous, but almoſt fatal to him. Thus far Pompey certainly ſhewed himſelf the greater Captain, in not ſuffering a force, which he could not reſiſt in

[*m*] Cæſar pro natura ferox, & conficiendæ rei cupidus, oſtentare aciem, provocare, laceſſere; nunc obſidione caſtrorum, quæ ſedecim millium vallo obduxerat; (ſed quid his obeſſet obſidio, qui patente maria omnibus copiis abundarent?) nunc expugnatione Dyrrhachii irrita, &c. Flor. l. 4. c. 2.

Ὁμολόγεί τε μεταγινώσκειν πρὸς Δυρράχιῳ σφαλοπεδεύσας. &c. App. p. 468.

A. Urb. 705. Cic. 59. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR II. P. SERVILIUS VATIA ISAURICUS.

the field to do him any hurt, or carry any point againſt him; ſince that depended on the ſkill of the General. By the help of entrenchments he knew how to make his new raiſed ſoldiers a match for Cæſar's Veterans; but when he was drawn to encounter him on the open plain, he fought againſt inſuperable odds, by deſerting *his proper arms*, as Cicero ſays, of *caution, counſil, and authority, in which he was ſuperior, and committing his fate to ſwords and ſpears, and bodily ſtrength, in which his enemies far excelled him* [*n*].

CICERO was not preſent at the battel of Pharſalia, but was left behind at Dyrrhachium much out of humor, as well as out of order: his diſcontent to ſee all things going wrong on that ſide, and contrary to his advice, had brought upon him an ill habit of body, and weak ſtate of health; which made him decline all public command; but he promiſed Pompey to follow, and continue with him as ſoon as his health permitted [*o*]; and as a pledge of his ſincerity, ſent his ſon in the mean while along with him, who, though very young, behaved himſelf gallantly, and acquired *great applauſe by his dexterity of riding and throwing the javelin*, and performing every other part of military diſcipline at the head *of one of the wings of*

[*n*] Non iis rebus pugnabamus, quibus valere poteramus, conſilio, auctoritate, cauſa, quæ erant in nobis ſuperiora; ſed lacertis & viribus, quibus pares non fuimus. Ep. Fam. 4. 7.

Dolebamque pilis & gladiis, non conſiliis neque auctoritatibus noſtris de jure publico diſceptari—Ep. Fam. 6. 1.

[*o*] Ipſe fugi adhuc omne munus, eo magis, quod nihil ita poterat agi, ut mihi & meis rebus aptum eſſet—me conficit ſollicitudo, ex qua etiam ſumma infirmitas corporis; qua levata, ero cum eo, qui negotium gerit, eſtque in magna ſpe—ad Att. xi. 4.

Horſe,

Horſe, of which Pompey had given him the command [*p*]. Cato ſtaid behind alſo in the Camp at Dyrrhachium, which he commanded with *fifteen Cohorts*, when Labienus brought them the news of Pompey's defeat; upon which Cato offered the command to Cicero as the ſuperior in dignity; and upon his refuſal of it, as Plutarch tells us, *young* Pompey was ſo enraged, *that he drew his ſword, and would have killed him upon the ſpot, if Cato had not prevented it.* This fact is not mentioned by Cicero, yet ſeems to be referred to in his ſpeech for Marcellus, where he ſays, *that in the very war, he had been a perpetual aſſertor of peace, to the hazard even of his life* [*q*]. But the wretched news from Pharſalia threw them all into ſuch a conſternation, that they preſently took ſhipping, and diſperſed themſelves ſeverally, as their hopes or inclinations led them, into the different provinces of the Empire [*r*]. The greateſt part who were determined to renew the war, went directly into Afric, the general rendezvous of their ſcattered forces: whilſt others, who were diſpoſed to expect the farther iſſue of things, and take ſuch meaſures as fortune offered, retired to Achaia: but Cicero was reſolved to make this *the end of the war to himſelf*; and recommended the ſame conduct to his friends: declar-

A. Urb. 705. Cic. 59. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR II. P. SERVILIUS VATIA ISAURICUS.

[*p*] Quo tamen in bello cum te Pompeius alæ alteri præfeciſſet, magnam laudem & a ſummo viro & ab exercitu conſequebare, equitando, jaculando, omni militari labore tolerando: atque ea quidem tua laus pariter cum Repub. cecidit. De Offic. 2. 13.

[*q*] Multa de pace dixi, & in ipſo bello, eadem etiam cum capitis mei periculo ſenſi. Pro Marcell. 5.

[*r*] Paucis ſane poſt diebus ex Pharſalica fuga veniſſe Labienum: qui cum interitum exercitus nunciaviſſet.— naves ſubito perterriti conſcendiſtis. De Divin. 1. 32.

A. Urb. 705. Cic. 59. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR II. P. SERVILIUS VATIA ISAURICUS.

ing, *that as they had been no match for Cæſar, when intire, they could not hope to beat him, when ſhattered and broken* [s]: and ſo after a miſerable campaign of about eighteen months, he committed himſelf without heſitation to the mercy of the Conqueror, and landed again at Brundiſium about the end of October.

[s] Hunc ego belli mihi fractos ſuperiores fore. Ep. finem feci; nec putavi, cum integri pares non fuiſſemus, Fam. 7. 3.

SECT.

SECT. VIII.

CICERO no ſooner returned to Italy, than he began to reflect, that he had been too haſty in coming home, before the war was determined, and without any invitation from the Conqueror; and in a time of that general licence, had reaſon to apprehend ſome inſult from the ſoldiers, if he ventured to appear in public with *his Faſces and Laurel*; and yet to drop them, would be a diminution of that honor, which he had received from the Roman people, and the acknowledgement of a power ſuperior to the laws: *he condemned himſelf therefore for not continuing abroad, in ſome convenient place of retirement, till he had been ſent for*, or things were better ſettled [*t*]. What gave him the greater reaſon to repent of this ſtep was, *a meſſage that he received from Antony*, who governed all in Cæſar's abſence, and with the ſame churliſh ſpirit, with which he would have held him before in Italy againſt his will, ſeemed now diſpoſed *to drive him out of it*: for he ſent him *the copy of a Letter from Cæſar*, in which Cæſar ſignified, "that he "had heard, that Cato and Metellus were at "Rome, and appeared openly there, which "might occaſion ſome diſturbance: wherefore

A. Urb. 706. Cic. 60. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator II. M. ANTONIUS Mag. Equit.

[*t*] Ego vero & incaute, ut ſcribis, & celerius quam oportuit, feci, &c. Ad Att. xi. 9.

Quare voluntatis me meæ nunquam pœnitebit, conſilii pœnitet. In oppido aliquo mallem reſediſſe, quoad arceſſerer. Minus ſermonis ſubiiſſem: minus accepiſſem doloris: ipſum hoc non me angeret. Brundiſii jacere in omnes partes eſt moleſtum. Propius accedere, ut ſuades, quomodo ſine lictoribus, quos populus dedit, poſſum? qui mihi incolumi adimi non poſſunt. Ad Att. xi. 6.

A. Urb. 706. Cic. 60. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator II. M. ANTONIUS Mag. Equit.

" he ſtrictly injoined, that none ſhould be ſuffered to come to Italy without a ſpecial licence " from himſelf. Antony therefore deſired Cicero to excuſe him, ſince he could not help " obeying Cæſar's commands: but Cicero ſent " L. Lamia to aſſure him, that Cæſar had ordered Dolabella to write to him to come to Italy " as ſoon as he pleaſed; and that he came upon " the authority of Dolabella's Letter:" ſo that Antony in the Edict, which he publiſhed to exclude *the Pompeians from Italy, excepted Cicero by name:* which added ſtill to his mortification; ſince all his deſire was to be connived at onely, or tacitly permitted, *without being perſonally diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of his party* [u].

BUT he had ſeveral other grievances of a domeſtic kind, which concurred alſo to make him unhappy: his Brother Quintus, with his Son, after their eſcape from Pharſalia, followed Cæſar into Aſia, to obtain their pardon from him in perſon. Quintus had particular reaſon to be afraid of his reſentment, on account of the relation which he had born to him, as one of his Lieutenants in Gaul, where he had been treated by him with great generoſity; ſo that Cicero *himſelf would have diſſuaded him from going over to Pompey, but could not prevail:* yet in this common calamity, Quintus, in order to make his own peace the more eaſily, reſolved to throw all the blame upon his Brother, and for that purpoſe made it

[u] Sed quid ego de lictoribus, qui pæne ex Italia decedere ſim juſſus? nam ad me miſit Antonius exemplum Cæſaris ad ſe literarum; in quibus erat, ſe audiſſe, Catonem & L. Metellum in Italiam veniſſe, Romæ ut eſſent palam, &c. Tum ille edixit ita, ut me exciperet & Lælium nominatim. Quod ſane nollem. Poterat enim ſine nomine, re ipſa excipi. O multas graves offenſiones!— ib. 7.

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the ſubject of *all his Letters and Speeches to Cæſar's friends, to rail at him in a manner the moſt inhuman.*

A. Urb. 706. Cic. 60. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator II. M. ANTONIUS Mag. Equit.

CICERO was informed of this from all quarters, and that young Quintus, who was ſent before towards Cæſar, *had read an oration to his friends, which he had prepared to ſpeak to him againſt his Uncle. Nothing*, as Cicero ſays, *ever happened more ſhocking to him*; and though he had no ſmall diffidence of Cæſar's inclination, and many enemies labouring to do him ill offices, yet his greateſt concern was, leſt his Brother and Nephew ſhould hurt themſelves rather than him, by their perfidy [x]. For under all the ſenſe of this provocation his behaviour was juſt the reverſe of theirs: and having been informed, *that Cæſar in a certain converſation, had charged his Brother with being the author of their going away to Pompey*, he took occaſion to write to him in the following terms:

" As for my Brother, I am not leſs ſolicitous " for his ſafety, than my own; but in my pre- " ſent ſituation dare not venture to recommend " him to you: all that I can pretend to, is, to " beg that you will not believe him to have ever " done any thing towards obſtructing my good " offices and affection to you; but rather, that

[x] Quintus miſit filium non ſolum ſui deprecatorem, ſed etiam accuſatorem mei—neque vero deſiſtet, ubicunque eſt omnia in me maledicta conferre. Nihil mihi unquam tam incredibile accidit, nihil in his malis tam acerbum.—ibid. 8.

Epiſtolas mihi legerunt plenas omnium in me probrorum—ipſi enim illi putavi perniciosum fore, ſi ejus hoc tantum ſcelus percrebuiſſet—ib. 9.

Quintum filium—volumen ſibi oſtendiſſe orationis, quam apud Cæſarem contra me eſſet habiturus — multa poſtea Patris, conſimili ſcelere Patrem eſſet locutum, ib. 10.

A. Urb. 706, Cic. 60. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator II. M. ANTONIUS Mag. Equit.

"he was always the adviſer of our union, and "the companion, not the leader of my voyage: "wherefore in all other reſpects, I leave it to "you to treat him, as your own humanity, and "his friendſhip with you require; but I entreat "you in the moſt preſſing manner, that I may "not be the cauſe of hurting him with you on any "account whatſoever [*y*]."

HE found himſelf likewiſe at this time in ſome diſtreſs for want of money, which in that ſeaſon of public diſtraction, it was very difficult to procure, either by borrowing or ſelling: the ſumm, which he advanced to Pompey, had drained him: and his wife, by her indulgence to ſtewards, and favorite ſervants, had made great waſte of what was left at home: and inſtead of ſaving any thing from their rents, had plunged him deeply into debt; ſo that Atticus's purſe was the chief fund which he had to truſt to for his preſent ſupport [*z*].

THE conduct of Dolabella was a farther mortification to him; who by the fiction of an adoption into a plebeian family, had obtained the tribunate this year, and was raiſing great tumults and diſorders in Rome, by a law, which he publiſhed, *to expunge all debts.* Laws of that kind had been often attempted by deſperate or ambitious Magiſtrates; but were always deteſted by the better ſort, and particularly by Cicero, who treats them as pernicious *to the peace and proſperity of*

[*y*] Cum mihi litteræ a Balbo minore miſſæ eſſent, Cæſarem exiſtimare, Quintum Fratrem *lituum meæ profectionis* fuiſſe, ſic enim ſcripſit.—ad Att. xi. 12.

[*z*] Velim conſideres ut ſit, unde nobis ſuppeditentur ſumtus neceſſarii. Si quas habuimus facultates, eas Pompeio, tum, cum id videbamur ſapienter facere, detulimus. Ib. 13, 2, 22, &c.

ſtates,

ſtates, and ſapping the very foundations of civil Society, by deſtroying all faith and credit among men [a]. No wonder therefore that we find him taking this affair ſo much to heart, and complaining ſo heavily, in many of his Letters to Atticus, of *the famed acts of his Son-in-law, as an additional ſource of affliction and diſgrace to him* [b]. Dolabella was greatly embarraſſed in his fortunes, and while he was with Cæſar abroad, ſeems to have left his wife deſtitute of neceſſaries at home, and forced to recur to her Father for her ſubſiſtence. Cicero likewiſe, either through the difficulty of the times, or for want of a ſufficient ſettlement on Dolabella's part, had not yet paid all her fortune; which it was uſual to do *at three different payments*, within a time limited by law: he had diſcharged *the two firſt*, and was now preparing to make *the third payment*, which he frequently and preſſingly recommends to the care of Atticus [c]. But Dolabella's whole life and character were ſo entirely contrary to the manners and temper both of Cicero and Tullia, that a divorce enſued between them not long after, though the account of it is delivered ſo darkly, that it is hard to ſay at what time, or from what ſide it firſt aroſe.

A. Urb. 706. Cic. 60. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator II. M. ANTONIUS Magquit.

[a] Nec enim ulla res vehementius Rempub. continet, quam fides; quæ eſſe nulla poteſt, niſi erit neceſſaria ſolutio rerum creditarum, &c. de Offic. 2. 24.

[b] Quod me audis fractiorem eſſe animo; quid putas, cum videas acceſſiſſe ad ſuperiores ægritudines præclaras generi actiones?—ad Att. xi, 12.

Etſi omnium conſpectum horreo, præſertim hoc genero —ib. 14, 15, &c.

[c] De dote, quod ſcribis, per omnes Deos te obteſtor, ut totam rem ſuſcipias, & illam miſeram mea culpa—— tueare meis opibus, ſi quæ ſunt; tuis, quibus tibi non moleſtum erit facultatibus. Ib. xi. 2.

De penſione altera, oro te, omni cura conſidera quid faciendum ſit.—ib. xi. 4.

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A. Urb. 706. Cic. 60. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator II. M. ANTONIUS Mag. Equit.

IN theſe circumſtances Tullia paid her father a viſit *at Brundiſium on the thirteenth of June:* but his great love for her made their meeting onely the more afflicting to him in that abject ſtate of their fortunes: "I was ſo far, ſays he, "from taking that pleaſure which I ought to "have done from the virtue, humanity, and pi- "ety of an excellent daughter, that I was ex- "ceedingly grieved to ſee ſo deſerving a Crea- "ture in ſuch an unhappy condition, not by her "own, but wholly by my fault: I ſaw no rea- "ſon therefore for keeping her longer here, in "this our common affliction: but was willing to "ſend her back to her mother as ſoon as ſhe "would conſent to it [*d*]."

At Brundiſium he received the news of Pompey's death, which did not ſurpriſe him, as we find from the ſhort reflection that he makes upon it: "As to Pompey's end, ſays he, I never had "any doubt about it: for the loſt and deſperate "ſtate of his affairs had ſo poſſeſſed the minds "of all the kings and ſtates abroad, that whi- "therſoever he went, I took it for granted that "this would be his fate: I cannot however help "grieving at it; for I knew him to be an honeſt, "grave, and worthy man [*e*]."

THIS was the ſhort and true character of the

[*d*] Tullia mea ad me venit prid. Id. Jun.—Ego autem ex ipſius virtute, humanitate, pietate non modo eam voluptatem non cepi, quam capere ex ſingulari filia debui, ſed etiam incredibili ſum dolere affectus, tale ingenium in tam miſera fortuna verſari. —ib. xi. 17. Ep. Fam. 14. 11.

[*e*] De Pompeii exitu mihi dubium nunquam fuit: tanta enim deſperatio rerum ejus, omnium Regum & populorum animos occuparat, ut quocunque veniſſet, hoc putarem futurum. Non poſſum ejus caſum non dolere: hominem enim integrum & caſtum & gravem cognovi. Ad Att. xi. 6.

man

man from one who perfectly knew him; not heightened, as we ſometimes find it, by the ſhining colors of his eloquence; nor depreſſed by the darker ſtrokes of his reſentment. Pompey had early acquired *the ſurname of the Great*, by that ſort of merit, which, from the conſtitution of the Republic, neceſſarily made him GREAT; a fame and ſucceſs in war, ſuperior to what Rome had ever known in the moſt celebrated of her Generals. He had triumphed at three ſeveral times over the three different parts of the known world, Europe, Aſia, Africa, and by his victories had almoſt doubled the extent, as well as the revenues of the Roman dominion; for as he declared to the people on his return from the Mithridatic war, *he had found the Leſſer Aſia the boundary, but left it the middle of their Empire. He was about ſix years older than Cæſar*; and while Cæſar immerſed in pleaſures, oppreſſed with debts, and ſuſpected by all honeſt men, was hardly able to ſhew his head; Pompey was floriſhing in the height of power and glory, and by the conſent of all parties placed at the head of the Republic. This was the poſt that his ambition ſeemed to aim at, to be the firſt man in Rome; *the Leader, not the Tyrant of his Country:* for he more than once had it in his power to have made himſelf the maſter of it without any riſk, if his virtue or his phlegm at leaſt had not reſtrained him: but he lived in a perpetual expectation of receiving from the gift of the people, what he did not care to ſeize by force; and by fomenting the diſorders of the City, hoped to drive them to the neceſſity of creating him Dictator. It is an obſervation of all the hiſtorians, that while Cæſar made no difference of power, *whether it was conferred or uſurped: whether over thoſe who loved, or thoſe who*

A. Urb. 706. Cic. 60. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator II. M. ANTONIUS Mag. Equit.

A. Urb. 706. Cic. 60. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator II. M. ANTONIUS Mag. Equit.

feared him; Pompey ſeemed to value none but what was *offered*; *nor to have any deſire to govern, but with the good will of the governed.* What leiſure he found from his wars, he employed in the ſtudy of polite Letters, and eſpecially of eloquence, *in which he would have acquired great fame, if his genius had not drawn him to the more dazzling glory of arms:* yet he pleaded ſeveral cauſes with applauſe, in the defence of his friends and clients; and ſome of them in conjunction with Cicero. His language was copious and elevated; his ſentiments juſt; his voice ſweet; his action noble, and full of dignity. But his talents were better formed for arms, than the gown: for though in both he obſerved the ſame diſcipline, a perpetual modeſty, temperance, and gravity of outward behaviour; yet in the licence of camps, the example was more rare and ſtriking. His perſon was extremely gracefull, and imprinting reſpect; yet with an air of reſerve and haughtineſs, which became the General better than the Citizen. His parts were plauſible, rather than great; ſpecious rather than penetrating; and his view of politics but narrow; for his chief inſtrument of governing was, *diſſimulation*; yet he had not always the art to conceal his real ſentiments. As he was a better ſoldier than a ſtateſman, ſo what he gained in the Camp he uſually loſt in the City; and though adored, when abroad, was often affronted and mortified at home; till the imprudent oppoſition of the Senate drove him to that alliance with Craſſus and Cæſar, which proved fatal both to himſelf and the Republic. He took in theſe two, not as the partners, but the miniſters rather of his power; that by giving them ſome ſhare with him, he might make his own authority uncontroulable: he had no reaſon

to

to apprehend, that they could ever prove his Rivals; since neither of them had any credit or character of that kind, which alone could raise them above the laws; a superior fame and experience in war, *with the militia of the empire at their devotion:* all this was purely his own; till by cherishing Cæsar, and throwing into his hands the onely thing which he wanted, *arms and military command*; he made him at last too strong for himself, and never began to fear him, till it was too late: Cicero warmly dissuaded both *his union and his breach with Cæsar*; and after the rupture, as warmly still, the thought *of giving him battel:* if any of these counsils had been followed, Pompey had preserved his life and honor, and the Republic its liberty. But he was urged to his fate by a natural superstition, and attention to those vain auguries, with which he was flattered by all the Haruspices: he had seen the same temper in Marius and Sylla, and observed the happy effects of it: but they assumed it onely out of policy, he out of principle. They used it to animate their soldiers, when they had found a probable opportunity of fighting; but he, against all prudence and probability, was encouraged by it to fight to his own ruin. He saw all his mistakes at last, when it was out of his power to correct them; and in his wretched flight from Pharsalia was forced to confess, *that he had trusted too much to his hopes; and that Cicero had judged better, and seen farther into things than he.* The resolution of seeking refuge in Egypt, finished the sad Catastrophe of this great man: the Father of the reigning Prince had been highly obliged to him for his protection at Rome, and restoration to his kingdom: and the Son had sent a considerable fleet to his assistance in the present

A. Urb. 706. Cic. 60. Coss. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator II. M. ANTONIUS Mag. Equit.

A. Urb. 706. Cic. 60. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator II. M. ANTONIUS Mag. Equit.

preſent war: but in this ruin of his fortunes, what gratitude was there to be expected from a Court, governed by *Eunuchs and mercenary Greeks?* all whoſe politics turned, not on the honor of the King, but the eſtabliſhment of their own power; which was likely to be eclipſed by the admiſſion of Pompey. How happy had it been for him to have died in that ſickneſs, *when all Italy was putting up vows and prayers for his ſafety?* or if he had fallen by the chance of war on the plains of Pharſalia, in the defence of his Country's liberty, he had died ſtill glorious, though unfortunate: but, as if he had been reſerved for an example of the inſtability of human Greatneſs, he, who a few days before commanded *Kings and Conſuls, and all the nobleſt of Rome*, was ſentenced to die by *a council of ſlaves*; murthered by a *baſe deſertor*; caſt out naked and headleſs on the Egyptian ſtrand; and when *the whole earth*, as Velleius ſays, *had ſcarce been ſufficient for his victories, could not find a ſpot upon it at leſt for a grave.* His Body was burnt on the ſhore by one of his freedmen, with the planks of an old fiſhing-boat; and his aſhes being conveyed to Rome, were depoſited privately *by his wife Cornelia in a Vault of his Alban Villa.* The Egyptians however raiſed a *monument* to him on the place, and adorned it with *figures of braſs*, which being defaced afterwards by time, and *buried almoſt in ſand and rubbiſh*, was ſought out and reſtored by the Emperor Hadrian [*f*].

On

[*f*] Hujus viri faſtigium tantis auctibus fortuna extulit, ut primum ex Africa, iterum ex Europa, tertio ex Aſia triumpharet: & quot partes terrarum Orbis ſunt, totidem faceret monumenta victoriæ. [Vell. P. 2. 40.] Ut ipſe in concione dixit,—Aſiam ultimam provinciarum accepiſſe, mediam patriæ reddidiſſe. [Plin. H. 7. 26. Flor. 3. 5.]

ON the news of Pompey's death, *Cæsar was declared Dictator the second time in his absence, and* A. Urb. 706. Cic. 60. Coss. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator II. M. ANTONIUS Mag. Equit.

3. 5.] Potentiæ quæ honoris causâ ad eum deferretur, non ut ab eo occuparetur, cupidissimus. [Vell. P. 2. 29. Dio. p. 178.] Meus autem æqualis Cn. Pompeius, vir ad omnia Summa natus, majorem dicendi gloriam habuisset, nisi eum majoris gloriæ cupiditas ad bellicas laudes abstraxisset. Erat oratione satis amplus: rem prudenter videbat: actio vero ejus habebat & in voce magnum splendorem, & in motu summam dignitatem. [Brut. 354. vid. it. pro Balbo. 1, 2.] Forma excellens, non ea, qua flos commendatur ætatis, sed ex dignitate constanti. [Vell. B. 2. 29.] Illud os probum, ipsumque honore eximiæ frontis. [Plin. Hist. 7. 12.] Solet enim aliud sentire & loqui, neque tantum valere ingenio ut non appareat quid cupiat. [Ep. Fam. 8. 1.] Ille aluit, auxit, armavit—— ille Calliæ ulterioris adjunctor ille provinciæ propagator; ille absentis in omnibus adjutor. [ad Att. 8. 3.] aluerat Cæsarem, eundem repente timere cœperat. [ib. 8.] Ego nihil prætermisi, quantum facere, nitique potui, quin Pompeium a Cæsaris conjunctione avocarem—— idem ego, cum jam omnes opes & suas & populi Romani Pompeius ad Cæsarem detulisset, seroque ea sentire cœpisset, quæ ego ante multo provideram pacis, concordiæ, compositionis auctor esse non destiti: meaque illa vox ex nota multis. Utinam, Pompei, cum Cæsare societatem aut nunquam coisses, aut nunquam diremisses?— hæc mea, Antoni, & de Pompeio & de Repub. consilia fuerunt: quæ si valuissent, Respub, staret. [Phil. 2. 10.] Multi testes, me & initio ne conjungeret se cum Cæsare. monuisse Pompeium, & postea, ne sejungeret, &c. [Ep. Fam. 6. 6.] Quid vero singularis ille vir ac pæne divinus de me senserit, sciunt, qui eum de Pharsalica fuga Paphum prosecuti sunt: nunquam ab eo mentio de me nisi honorifica —cum me vidisse plus fateretur, se speravisse meliora. [ib. 15.] Qui, si mortem tum obiisset, in amplissimis fortunis occidisset; is propagatione vitæ quot, quantas, quam incredibiles hausit calamitates? [Tusc. disp. 1. 35.] In Pelusiaco littore, imperio viliſſimi Regis, consiliis spadonum, & ne quid malis desit, Septimii desertoris sui gladio trucidatur. [Flor. 4. 2. 52.] Ægyptum petere proposuit, memor beneficiorum quæ in Patrem ejus Ptolemæi,—qui tum regnabat, contulerat— Princeps Romani nominis, imperio, arbitrioque Ægyptii mancipii jugulatus est—

in

A. Urb. 706. Cic. 60. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator II. M. ANTONIUS Mag. Equit.

and M. Antony his Maſter of the Horſe, who by virtue of that poſt governed all things abſolutely in Italy. Cicero continued all the while at Brundiſium, in a ſituation wholly diſagreeable, and *worſe to him*, he ſays, *than any puniſhment: for the air of the place began to affect his health, and to the uneaſineſs of mind added an ill ſtate of body* [g]: yet to move nearer towards Rome without leave from his new Maſters, was not thought adviſeable; nor did Antony encourage it; being pleaſed rather, we may believe, to ſee him well mortified: ſo that he had no hopes of any eaſe or comfort, but in the expectation of Cæſar's return; which made his ſtay in that place the more neceſſary for the opportunity of paying his early compliments to him at landing.

BUT what gave him the greateſt uneaſineſs was, to be held ſtill in ſuſpence, in what touched him the moſt nearly, the caſe of his own ſafety, and of Cæſar's diſpoſition towards him: for though all Cæſar's friends aſſured him, *not only of pardon, but of all kind of favor*; yet he had received no intimation of kindneſs from Cæſar himſelf, who was ſo embarraſſed in Egypt, that he had no leiſure to think of Italy, and did not ſo much as *write a Letter thither from December to June*: for as he had raſhly, and out of gaiety,

in tantum in illo viro a ſe diſcordante fortuna, ut cui modo ad victoriam terra defuerat deeſſet ad ſepulturam. Vell. Pat. 54. vid. Dio. p. 186. it. Appian. 2. 481.

Provida Pompeio dederat Campania febres
Optandas. Sed multæ urbes, & publica vota
Vicerunt. Igitur fortuna ipſius & Urbis
Servatum victo caput abſtulit.
Juv. x. 283.

[g] Quodvis enim ſupplicium levius eſt hæc permanſione.—Ad Att. xi. 18.

Jam enim corpore vix ſuſtineo gravitatem hujus cœli, qui mihi laborem affert, in dolore—ibid. 22.

as

as it were, involved himſelf there in a moſt deſperate war, to the hazard of all his fortunes; *he was aſhamed, as* Cicero ſays [*b*], *to write any thing about it*, till he had extricated himſelf out of that difficulty. A. Urb. 706. Cic. 60. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator II. M. ANTONIUS Mag. Equit.

HIS enemies in the mean time had greatly ſtrengthened themſelves in Africa, where P. Varus, who firſt ſeized it on the part of the Republic, was ſupported by all the force of *King Juba*, Pompey's faſt friend, and had reduced the whole Province to his obedience; for Curio, after he had driven Cato *out of Sicily*, being ambitious to drive Varus *alſo out of Afric*, and having tranſported thither the beſt part *of four legions*, which Cæſar had committed to him, was, after ſome little ſucceſs upon his landing, intirely defeated and deſtroyed with his whole army in an engagement with Sabura, *King Juba's General.*

CURIO was a young nobleman of ſhining parts; admirably formed by nature to adorn that character, in which *his father and grandfather* had floriſhed before him, of one of the principal *Orators of Rome.* Upon his entrance into the Forum, he was committed to the care of Cicero: but a natural propenſion to pleaſure, ſtimulated by the example and counſils of his perpetual companion Antony, hurried him into all the extravagance of expence and debauchery: for Antony, who always wanted money, with which Curio abounded, was ever obſequious to his will, and miniſtring to his Luſts, for the opportunity of gratifying his own: ſo that, *no boy purchaſed for the uſe of lewdneſs, was more in a Maſter's power,*

[*b*] Ille enim ita videtur Alexandriam tenere, ut eum ſcribere etiam pudeat de illis rebus. Ib. xi. 15. Nec poſt idus Decemb. ab illo datas ullas litteras. Ib. 17.

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than Antony in Curio's. He was equally prodigal of his money, and his modeſty; and not only of his own, but of other people's: ſo that Cicero alluding to the infamous effeminacy of his life, calls him in one of his Letters, *Miſs* Curio. But when the Father, by Cicero's advice, had obliged him by his paternal authority *to quit the familiarity of Antony*; he reformed his conduct, and adhering to the inſtructions and maxims of Cicero, became the favorite of the City; the Leader of the young nobility; and a warm aſſertor of the authority of the Senate, againſt the power of the *Triumvirate*. After his Father's death, upon his firſt taſt of public honors, and admiſſion into the Senate, his ambition and thirſt of popularity engaged him in ſo immenſe a prodigality, that to ſupply the magnificence *of his ſhews, and plays*, with which he entertained the City, he was ſoon driven to the neceſſity of ſelling himſelf to Cæſar; having *no revenue left*, as Pliny ſays, *but from the diſcord of his Citizens.* For this he is conſidered commonly by the old writers, as *the chief inſtrument, and the Trumpet, as it were, of the civil war*; in which he juſtly fell the firſt victim; yet after all his luxury and debauch, fought and died with a courage truly Roman; which would have merited a better fate, if it had been employed in a better cauſe: for upon the loſs of the battel, and his beſt troops, being admoniſhed by his friends to ſave himſelf by flight, he anſwered, *that after loſing an army, which had been committed to him by Cæſar, he could never ſhew his face to him again*; and ſo continued fighting, till he was killed among the laſt of his ſoldiers [*i*].

CURIO's

[*i*] *Haud alium tanta civem tulit indole Roma.* Lucan 4: 814.

Una

CURIO's death happened before the battel of Pharſalia, while Cæſar was engaged in Spain [*k*]: by which means Afric fell intirely into the hands of the Pompeians; and became the general rendezvous of all that party: hither Scipio, Cato, and Labienus, conveyed the remains of their ſcattered troops from Greece, as Afranius and Petreius likewiſe did from Spain; till on the whole they had brought together again a more numerous army than Cæſar's, and were in ſuch high ſpirits, as to talk of coming over with it into Italy, before Cæſar could return from Alexandria [*l*]. This was confidently given out, and expected at Rome; and in that caſe, Cicero was

A. Urb. 706. Cic. 60. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator II. M. ANTONIUS Mag. Equit.

Una familia Curionum, in qua tres continua ſerie Oratores extiterunt. Plin. H. 7. 41.

Naturam habuit admirabilem ad dicendum. Brut. 406.

Nemo unquam puer, emptus libidinis cauſa, tam fuit in domini poteſtate, quam tu in Curionis. [Philip. 2. 18.] duce filiola Curionis. [ad Att. 1. 14.]

Vir nobilis, eloquens, audax, ſuæ alienæque & fortunæ & pudicitiæ prodigus — cujus animo, voluptatibus vel libidinibus, neque opes ullæ neque cupiditates ſufficere poſſent. [Vell. P. 248.]

Niſi meis puer olim fideliſſimis atque amantiſſimis conſiliis paruiſſes. [Ep. Fam. 2. 1.]

Bello autem civili — non alius majorem quam C. Curio ſubjecit facem — [Vell. P. 2. 48.]

Quid nunc Roſtra tibi proſunt turbata, forumque
Unde Tribunitia plebeius ſignifer arce
Arma dabas populis, &c.
Lucan 4. 800.

At Curio, nunquam amiſſo exercitu, quem a Cæſare fidei ſuæ commiſſum acceperat, ſe in ejus conſpectum reverſurum, confirmat; atque ita prælians interficitur. Cæſ. Comm. de Bell. Civ. 2.

[*k*] *Ante jacet, quam dira duces Pharſalia confert,*
Spectandumque tibi bellum civile negatum eſt.
Lucan ib.

[*l*] Ii autem ex Africa jam affuturi videntur. Ad Att. xi. 15.

A. Urb. 706. Cic. 60. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator II. M. ANTONIUS Mag. Equit.

ſure to be treated as a deſertor; for while *Cæſar looked upon all men as friends, who did not act againſt him*, and pardoned even enemies, who ſubmitted to his power; it was a declared law on the other ſide, *to conſider all as enemies, who were not actually in their Camp* [*m*]: ſo that Cicero had nothing now to wiſh, either for himſelf, or the Republic, but in the firſt place, a *peace, of which he had ſtill ſome hopes* [*n*]; or elſe, that Cæſar might conquer; whoſe victory was like to prove the more temperate of the two: which makes him often lament the unhappy ſituation to which he was reduced, where *nothing could be of any ſervice to him, but what he had always abhorred* [*o*].

UNDER this anxiety of mind, it was an additional vexation to him to hear, *that his reputation was attacked at Rome*, for ſubmitting ſo haſtily to the Conqueror, or putting himſelf rather at all into his power. Some condemned him *for not following Pompey*; ſome more ſeverely *for not going to Afric*, as the greateſt part had done; others, *for not retiring with many of his party to Achaia*; till they could ſee the farther progreſs of the war: as he was always extremely ſenſible of what was ſaid of him by honeſt men, ſo he begs of Atticus to be his advocate; and gives

[*m*] Te enim dicere audiebamus, nos omnes adverſarios putare, niſi qui nobiſcum eſſent; te omnes, qui contra te non eſſent, tuos. Pro Ligar. xi. it. ad Att. xi. 6.

[*n*] Eſt autem, unum, quod mihi ſit optandum, ſi quid agi de pace poſſit: quod nulla equidem habeo in ſpe: ſed quia tu leviter interdum ſignificas, cogis me ſperare quod obtandum vix eſt—ad Att. xi. 19. it. 12.——

[*o*] Mihi cum omnia ſunt intolerabilia ad dolorem, tum maxime, quod in eam cauſam veniſſe me video, ut ea ſola utilia mihi eſſe videantur, quæ ſemper nolui. Ad Att. xi. 13.

him ſome hints, which might be urged in his defence. As to the firſt charge, *for not following Pompey*, he ſays, "that Pompey's fate "would extenuate the omiſſion of that ſtep: "of the ſecond, that though he knew many "brave men to be in Afric, yet it was his opinion, "that the Republic neither could, nor ought to "be defended by the help of ſo barbarous and "treacherous a nation: as to the third, he wiſhes "indeed that he had joined himſelf to thoſe in "Achaia, and owns them to be in a better con-"dition than himſelf, becauſe they were many "of them together; and whenever they return-"ed to Italy, would be reſtored to their own "at once:" whereas he was confined like a priſoner of war to *Brundiſium*, without the liberty of ſtirring from it till Cæſar arrived [*p*].

A. Urb. 706. Cic. 60. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator II. M. ANTONIUS Mag. Equit.

WHILE he continued in this uneaſy ſtate, ſome of his friends at Rome contrived to ſend him a Letter *in Cæſar's name, dated the ninth of February from Alexandria*, encouraging him *to lay aſide all gloomy apprehenſions, and expect every thing that was kind and friendly from him*: but it was drawn *in terms ſo ſlight and general*, that inſtead of giving him any ſatisfaction, it made him onely ſuſpect, what he perceived afterwards to be true, *that it was forged by Balbus or Oppius*, on purpoſe to raiſe his ſpirits, and adminiſter

[*p*] Dicebas debuiſſe cum Pompeio proficiſci. Exitus illius minuit ejus officii prætermiſſi reprehenſionem. — Sed ex omnibus nihil magis deſideratur quam quod in Africam non ierim. Judicio hoc ſum uſus, non eſſe barbaris auxiliis fallaciſſimæ gentis Rempub. defendendam— extremum eſt eorum, qui in Achaia ſunt. Ii tamen ipſi ſe hoc melius habent, quam nos, quod & multi ſunt uno in loco, & cum in Italiam venerint, domum ſtatim venerint. Hæc tu perge, ut facis, mitigare & probare quam plurimis. Ad Att. xi. 7.

A. Urb. 706. Cic. 60. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator II. M. ANTONIUS Mag. Equit.

ſome little comfort to him [*q*]. All his accounts however confirmed to him the report of Cæſar's clemency and moderation, and his granting pardon without exception to all who aſked it; and with regard to himſelf, *Cæſar ſent Quintus's virulent Letters to Balbus, with orders to ſhew them to him*, as a proof of his kindneſs and diſlike of Quintus's perfidy. But Cicero's preſent deſpondency, which interpreted every thing by his fears, made him *ſuſpect Cæſar the more, for refuſing grace to none*; as if ſuch a clemency muſt needs be affected, *and his revenge deferred onely to a ſeaſon more convenient:* and as to *his Brother's Letters*, he fancied, *that Cæſar did not ſend them to Italy, becauſe he condemned them, but to make his preſent miſery and abject condition the more notorious and deſpicable to every body* [*r*].

BUT after a long ſeries of perpetual mortifications, he was refreſhed at laſt by a very obliging Letter from Cæſar, who confirmed to him the full enjoyment *of his former ſtate and dignity, and bad him reſume his faſces and ſtile of Emperor as before* [*s*]. Cæſar's mind was too great to liſten to

[*q*] Ut me iſta epiſtola nihil conſoletur; nam & exigue ſcripta eſt et magnas ſuſpiciones habet, non eſſe ab illo—ad Att. xi. 16.

Ex quo intelligis, illud de litteris a. d. v. Id. Feb. datis (quod inane eſſet, etiam ſi verum eſſet) non verum eſſe. Ib. 17.

[*r*] Omnino dicitur nemini negare: quod ipſum eſt ſuſpectum, notionem ejus differri. Ib. 20.

Diligenter mihi faſciculum reddidit Balbi tabellarius —quod ne Cæſar quidem ad iſtos videtur miſiſſe, quaſi quo illius improbitate offenderetur, ſed credo, uti notiora noſtra mala eſſent,—ib. 22.

[*s*] Redditæ mihi tandem ſunt a Cæſare litteræ ſatis liberales. Ep. Fam. 14. 23.

Qui ad me ex Ægypto litteras miſit, ut eſſem idem, qui fuiſſem: qui cum ipſe Imperator in toto imperio populi Romani unus eſſet, eſſe

to the tales of *the Brother and Nephew*; and inſtead of approving their treachery, ſeems to have granted them their pardon on Cicero's account, rather than their own; ſo that Quintus, upon the trial of Cæſar's inclination, began preſently to change his note, and *to congratulate with his Brother on* Cæſar's affection and eſteem for him [*t*]. A. Urb. 706. Cic. 60. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator II. M. ANTONIUS Mag. Equit.

CICERO was now preparing *to ſend his Son to wait upon Cæſar, who was ſuppoſed to be upon his journey towards home*; but the uncertain accounts of his coming diverted him a while from that thought [*u*]; till Cæſar himſelf prevented it, and relieved him very agreeably from his tedious reſidence at Brundiſium, by his ſudden and unexpected arrival in Italy; where he landed at Tarentum in the month of September; and on the firſt notice of his coming forward towards Rome, *Cicero ſet out on foot to meet him.*

WE may eaſily imagine, what we find indeed from his Letters, that he was not a little diſcompoſed at the thoughts of this interview, and the indignity of offering himſelf to a Conqueror, againſt whom he had been in arms, in the midſt of a licentious and inſolent rabble: for though he had reaſon to expect a kind reception from Cæſar, yet he hardly *thought his life*, he ſays, *worth begging; ſince what was given by a Maſter, might always be taken away again at pleaſure* [*x*].

eſſe me alterum paſſus eſt: a quo—conceſſos faſces laureatos tenui, quoad tenendos putavi. Pro Ligar. 3.

[*t*] Sed mihi valde Quintus gratulatur. Ad Att. xi. 23.

[*u*] Ego cum Salluſtio Ciceronem ad Cæſarem mittere cogitabam. Ib. 17.

De illius Alexandria diſceſſu nihil adhuc rumoris, contraque opinio—itaque nec mitto, ut conſtitueram, Ciceronem—ib. 18.

[*x*] Sed non adducor, quemquam bonum ullam ſalutem mihi tanti fuiſſe putare,

A. Urb. 706. Cic. 60. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator II. M. ANTONIUS Mag. Equit.

But at their meeting, he had no occaſion to ſay or do any thing that was below his dignity: for *Cæſar no ſooner ſaw him, than he alighted and ran to embrace him; and walked with him alone, converſing very familiarly for ſeveral furlongs* [y].

FROM this interview, Cicero followed Cæſar towards Rome: he propoſed to be at *Tuſculum on the ſeventh or eighth of October*; and wrote to his wife to provide for his reception there, *with a large company of friends, who deſigned to make ſome ſtay with him* [z]. From Tuſculum he came afterwards to the City, with a reſolution to ſpend his time in ſtudy and retreat, till the Republic ſhould be reſtored to ſome tolerable ſtate; "having "made his peace again, as he writes to Varro, "with his old friends, his books, who had been "out of humor with him for not obeying their "precepts; but inſtead of living quietly with "them, as Varro had done, committing himſelf "to the turbulent counſils and hazards of war, "with faithleſs companions [a]."

ON Cæſar's return to Rome, he appointed *P. Vatinius and Q. Fufius Calenus, Conſuls for the three laſt months of the year*: this was a very unpopular uſe of his new power, which he continued however to practiſe through the reſt of his reign; creating theſe firſt Magiſtrates of the State, without any regard to the ancient forms, or recourſe to the people, and at any time of the

tare, ut eam peterem ab illo —ad Att. xi. 16.

Sed——ab hoc ipſo quæ dantur, ut a Domino, rurſus in ejuſdem ſunt poteſtate. Ib. 20.

[y] Plutar. in Cic.

[z] Ep. Fam. 14. 20.

[a] Scito enim me poſteaquam in urbem venerim, rediſſe cum veteribus amicis, id eſt, cum libris noſtris in gratiam—ignoſcunt mihi, revocant in conſuetudinem priſtinam, teque, quod in ea permanſeris, ſapientiorem, quam me dicunt fuiſſe, &c. Ep. Fam. 9. 1.

year;

year; which gave a ſenſible diſguſt to the City, and an early ſpecimen of the arbitrary manner in which he deſigned to govern them. A. Urb. 706. Cic. 60. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator II. M. ANTONIUS Mag. Equit.

ABOUT the end of the year, Cæſar embarked for Afric, to purſue the war againſt Scipio, and the other Pompeian Generals, who, aſſiſted by King Juba, held the poſſeſſion of that Province with a vaſt army. As he was ſacrificing for the ſucceſs of this voyage, *the victim happened to break looſe and run away from the Altar*; which being looked upon as an unlucky Omen, *the Aruſpex admoniſhed him not to ſail before the winter ſolſtice:* but he took ſhip directly in contempt of the admonition; and by that means, as Cicero ſays, *came upon his enemies unprepared; and before they had drawn together all their forces.* [*b*]. Upon his leaving the City, he declared

[*b*] Quid? ipſe Cæſar, cum a Summo haruſpice moneretur, ne in Africam ante brumam tranſmitteret, nonne tranſmiſit? quod ni feciſſet, uno in loco omnes adverſariorum copiæ conveniſſent—de Divin. 2. 24.

Cum immolanti aufugiſſet hoſtia profectionem adverſus Scipionem & Jubam non diſtulit—Sueton. Jul. Cæſ. 59.

Hirtius, in his account of this war, ſays, that Cæſar embarked at Lilybæum for Afric *on the 6th of the Kalends of Jan.* [de Bell. Afric. init.] that is, *on the 27th of our December:* whereas Cicero, in the paſſage juſt cited, declares him to have paſſed over before the Solſtice, or the ſhorteſt day. But this ſeeming contradiction is intirely owing to a cauſe already intimated, the great confuſion that was introduced at this time into the Roman Kalendar, by which the months were all tranſpoſed from their ſtated ſeaſons; ſo that *the 27th of December*, on which, according to their computation, Cæſar embarked, was in reality coincident, or the ſame with our *8th of October*, and conſequently above two months before the Solſtice, or ſhorteſt day. All which is clearly and accurately explaned in a learned diſſertation, publiſhed by a perſon of eminent merit in the Univerſity

A. Urb. 707. Cic. 61. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.

clared himſelf Conſul, together with M. Lepidus for the year enſuing; and gave the government of *the Hither Gaul to M. Brutus*; *of Greece, to Servius Sulpicius*; the firſt of whom had been in arms againſt him at Pharſalia; and the ſecond was a favorer likewiſe of the *Pompeian cauſe*, and a great friend of Cicero, yet ſeems to have taken no part in the war [*c*].

THE African war now held the whole Empire in ſuſpenſe; Scipio's name was thought ominous and invincible on that ground: but while the general attention was employed on the expectation of ſome deciſive blow, Cicero deſpairing of any good from either ſide, choſe to live retired, and out of ſight; and whether in the City or the Country, ſhut himſelf up with his books; which, as he often ſays, *had hitherto been the diverſion onely, but were now become the ſupport of his life* [*d*]. In this humor of ſtudy he entered into a cloſe friendſhip and correſpondence of Letters with M. Terentius Varro; a friendſhip equally valued on both ſides, and at Varro's deſire, immortalized by the mutual dedication of their learned works to each other; *of Cicero's Academic Queſtions to Varro*; *of Varro's treatiſe on the Latin Tongue, to Cicero.* Varro was a Senator of the firſt diſtinction, both for birth and merit; eſteemed *the moſt learned man of Rome*; and though now above fourſcore years old, *yet continued ſtill writing and publiſhing books to his eighty-eighth year* [*e*].

Univerſity of Cambridge, who chuſes to conceal his name. See Bibliothec. Literar. N° VIII. Lond. 1724. 4to.

[*c*] Brutum Galliæ præfecit; Sulpicium Græciæ. Ep. Fam. 6. 6.

[*d*] A quibus antea delectationem modo petebamus, nunc vero etiam ſalutem. Ep. Fam. 9. 2.

[*e*] Niſi M. Varronem ſcirem octogeſimo octavo vitæ anno prodidiſſe, &c. Plin. Hiſt. 29. 6.

He

He was Pompey's *Lieutenant in Spain*, in the beginning of the war; but after the defeat of Afranius and Petreius quitted his arms, and retired to his ſtudies; ſo that his preſent circumſtances were not very different from thoſe of Cicero; who in all his Letters to him, bewails with great freedom the utter ruin of the ſtate; and propoſes, "that they ſhould live together in a ſtrict communication of ſtudies, and avoid at leaſt the "ſight if not the tongues of men; yet ſo, that "if their new Maſters ſhould call for their help "towards ſettling the Republic, they ſhould run "with pleaſure, and aſſiſt, not onely as architects, but even as maſons to build it up again; "or if nobody would employ them, ſhould "write and read the beſt forms of government; "and as the learned ancients had done before "them, ſerve their Country, if not in the Senate and Forum, yet by their books and "ſtudies, and by compoſing treatiſes of morals "and laws [*f*]." A. Urb. 707. Cic. 61. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.

IN this retreat he wrote his book of *Oratorial Partitions*, or the art of ordering and diſtributing the parts of an Oration ſo, as to adapt them in the beſt manner to their proper end, of moving and perſuading an audience. It was written for the inſtruction of his ſon, now about eighteen years old, but ſeems to have been the rude draught only of what he intended, or not to have been finiſhed at leaſt to his ſatisfaction; ſince we

[*f*] Non deeſſe ſi quis adhibere volet, non modo ut Architectos, verum etiam ut fabros, ad ædificandam Rempub. & potius libenter accurrere: ſi nemo utetur opera, tamen & ſcribere & legere πολιτείας; & ſi minus in curia atque in foro, at in litteris & libris, ut doctiſſimi veteres fecerunt, navare Rempub. & de moribus & legibus quærere. Mihi hæc videntur. Ep. Fam. 9. 2.

find

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find no mention of it in any of his Letters, as of all his other pieces which were prepared for the public.

ANOTHER fruit of this leiſure was his Dialogue *on famous Orators*, called Brutus; in which he gives a ſhort character of all, who had ever floriſhed either *in Greece or Rome*, with any reputation of eloquence, down to his own times; and as he generally touches the principal points of each man's life, ſo an attentive reader may find in it an *Epitome*, as it were, *of the Roman Hiſtory*. The conference is ſuppoſed to be held with *Brutus and Atticus in Cicero's garden at Rome, under the Statue of Plato* [g]; whom he always admired, and uſually imitated in the manner of his Dialogues; and in this ſeems to have copied from him the very form of his double title; *Brutus, or of famous Orators*; taken from the ſpeaker and the ſubject, as in Plato's piece, called *Phædon, or of the Soul*. This work was intended as a *ſupplement, or a fourth book to the three*, which he had before publiſhed on *the complete Orator*. But though it was prepared and finiſhed at this time, while *Cato was living*, as it is intimated in ſome parts of it, yet, as it appears from the preface, it was not made public till the year following, after the death of his daughter Tullia.

As at the opening of the war we found *Cicero in debt to Cæſar*, ſo we now meet with ſeveral hints in his Letters of Cæſar's being indebted to him. It aroſe probably from a mortgage, that Cicero had upon the confiſcated eſtate of ſome Pompeian, which Cæſar had ſeized: but

[g] Cum idem placuiſſet illis, tum in pratulo, propter Platonis Statuam conſedimus —Brut. 28.

of

of what kind ſoever it was, Cicero was in pain for his money: "he ſaw but three ways, he ſays, "of getting it; by purchaſing the eſtate at Cæ- "ſar's auction; or taking an aſſignment on the "purchaſer; or compounding for half with the "Brokers or Money-jobbers of thoſe times; "who would advance the money on thoſe terms. "The firſt he declares to be baſe, and that he "would rather loſe his debt, than touch any "thing confiſcated: the ſecond he thought ha- "zardous; and that nobody would pay any thing "in ſuch uncertain times: the third he liked the "beſt, but deſires Atticus's advice upon it [*b*]."

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HE now at laſt *parted with his wife Terentia*, whoſe humor and conduct had long been uneaſy to him: this drew upon him ſome cenſure; for putting away a wife, who had lived with him above *thirty years*, the faithfull partner of his bed and fortunes; and the mother of *two Children*, extremely dear to him. But ſhe was a woman of an imperious and turbulent ſpirit; expenſive and negligent in her private affairs; buſy and intriguing in the public; and, in the height of her huſband's power, ſeems to have had the chief hand in the diſtribution of all his favors. He had eaſily born her perverſeneſs in the vigor of health, and the floriſhing ſtate of his fortunes; but in a declining life, ſoured by a continual ſucceſſion of mortifications from abroad, the want of eaſe and quiet at home was no longer tolerable to him: the divorce however was not likely to cure the difficulties, in which her management had involved

[*b*] Nomen illud, quod a Cæſare, tres habet conditiones; aut emtionem ab haſta; (perdere malo:—) aut delegationem a mancipe, annua die: (quis erit, cui credam?) —aut Vecteni conditionem, ſemiſſe. σκέψαι igitur. Ad Att. 12. 3.

him:

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him: for ſhe had brought him a great fortune, which was all to be reſtored to her at parting: this made a ſecond marriage neceſſary, in order to repair the ill ſtate of his affairs; and his friends of both ſexes were buſy in providing a fit match for him: ſeveral parties were propoſed to him, and among others, *a daughter of Pompey the Great*; for whom he ſeems to have had an inclination: but a prudential regard to the times, and the envy and ruin under which that family then lay, induced him probably to drop it [*i*]. What gave his enemies the greater handle to rally him was, his marrying a handſom young woman, named Publilia, of an age diſproportionate to his own, to whom he was Guardian: but ſhe was well allied, and rich; circumſtances very convenient to him at this time; as he intimates in a Letter to a friend, who congratulated with him on his marriage.

"As to your giving me joy, ſays he, for what "I have done, I know you wiſh it: but I ſhould "not have taken any new ſtep in ſuch wretched "times, if at my return I had not found my pri- "vate affairs in no better condition than thoſe of "the Republic. For when through the wick- "edneſs of thoſe, who, for my infinite kindneſs "to them, ought to have had the greateſt con- "cern for my welfare, I found no ſafety or eaſe "from their intrigues and perfidy within my "own walls, I thought it neceſſary to ſecure my- "ſelf by the fidelity of new alliances againſt the "treachery of the old [*k*]."

CÆSAR

[*i*] De Pompeii Magni filia tibi reſcripſi, nihil me hoc tempore cogitare. Alteram vero illam, quam tu ſcribis, puto noſti. Nihil vidi fœdius.—ib. 12. 11.

[*k*] Ep. Fam. 4. 14. In caſes of divorce, where there

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CÆSAR returned victorious from Afric about the end of July, by the way of Sardinia, where he ſpent ſome days: upon which Cicero ſays pleaſantly in a Letter to Varro, *he had never ſeen that farm of his before, which, though one of the worſt that he has, he does not yet deſpiſe* [*l*]. The uncertain event of the *African War* had kept the Senate under ſome reſerve; but they now began to puſh their flattery beyond all the bounds of decency, and decreed more extravagant honors to Cæſar, than were ever given before to man; which Cicero oft rallies with great ſpirit; and being determined to bear no part in that ſervile adulation, was treating about the *purchaſe of a Houſe at Naples*, for a pretence of retiring ſtill farther and oftner from Rome. But his friends, who knew his impatience under their preſent ſubjection, and the free way of ſpeaking, which he was apt to indulge, were in ſome pain, leſt he ſhould forfeit the good graces of Cæſar and his

there were children, it was the cuſtom for each party to make a ſettlement by will on their common offspring, proportionable to their ſeveral eſtates: which is the meaning of Cicero's preſſing Atticus ſo often in his Letters to put Terentia in mind of making her will, and depoſiting it in ſafe hands. Ad Att. xi. 21, 22, 24: xii. 18.—

Terentia is ſaid to have lived to the age of *an hundred and three years* [Val. M. 8. 13. Plin. H. 7. 48.] and took, as St. Jerome ſays, for her ſecond huſband, *Cicero's enemy, Salluſt, and Meſſala for her third.* Dio Caſſius gives her a fourth, Vibius Rufus; who was Conſul in the reign of Tiberius, and valued himſelf for the poſſeſſion of two things, which had belonged to the two greateſt men of the age before him, *Cicero's wife, and Cæſar's chair, in which he was killed.* Dio. p. 612. Hieron. Op. To. 4. par. 2. p. 190.

[*l*] Illud enim adhuc prædium ſuum non inſpexit: nec ullum habet deterius, ſed tamen non contemnit. Ep. Fam. 9. 7.

favorites,

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favorites, and provoke them too far by the keenneſs of his raillery [*m*]. They preſſed him *to accommodate himſelf to the times*; and to uſe more caution in his diſcourſe; and to reſide more at Rome, eſpecially when Cæſar was there, who would interpret the diſtance and retreat which he affected as a proof of his averſion to him.

BUT his anſwers on this occaſion will ſhew the real ſtate of his ſentiments and conduct towards Cæſar, as well as of Cæſar's towards him: writing on this ſubject to Papirius Pætus, he ſays; "You are of opinion, I perceive, that it will "not be allowed to me, as I thought it might "be, to quit theſe affairs of the City: you tell "me of Catulus, and thoſe times; but what "ſimilitude have they to theſe? I myſelf was

[*m*] Some of his jeſts on Cæſar's adminiſtration are ſtill preſerved; which ſhew, that his friends had reaſon enough to admoniſh him to be more upon his guard. Cæſar had advanced Laberius, a celebrated *mimic actor, to the order of Knights:* but when he ſtept from the Stage into the Theatre to take his place on the *Equeſtrian* benches, none of the Knights would admit him to a ſeat among them. As he was marching off therefore with diſgrace, happening to paſs near Cicero, *I would make room for you here,* ſays Cicero on our bench, *if we were not already too much crouded*; alluding to Cæſar's filling up the Senate alſo with the ſcumm of his creatures, and even with ſtrangers and barbarians. At another time, being deſired by a friend, in a public company, to procure for his ſon *the rank of a Senator*, in one of the Corporate Towns of Italy, *he ſhall have it,* ſays he, *if you pleaſe, at Rome, but it will be difficult at Pompeii.* An acquaintance likewiſe from Laodicea, coming to pay his reſpects to him, and being aſked, what buſineſs had brought him to Rome, ſaid, that he was ſent upon an embaſſy to Cæſar, *to intercede with him for the liberty of his country*; upon which Cicero replied, *if you ſucceed, you ſhall be an Embaſſador alſo for us.* Macrob. Saturn. 2. 3. Sueton. c. 76.

"unwilling

" unwilling at that time to ſtir from the guard A. Urb. 707.
" of the ſtate; for I then ſat at the helm, and Cic. 61.
" held the rudder; but am now ſcarce thought Coſſ.
" worthy to work at the pump: would the Se- C. Julius
" nate think you paſs fewer decrees, if I ſhould Cæsar III.
" live at Naples? while I am ſtill at Rome, and M. Æmilius
" attend the Forum, their decrees are all drawn Lepidus.
" at our friend's houſe; and whenever it comes
" into his head, my name is ſet down, as if pre-
" ſent at drawing them; ſo that I hear from Ar-
" menia and Syria of decrees, ſaid to be made at
" my motion, of which I never heard a ſyl-
" lable at home. Do not take me to be in jeſt;
" for I aſſure you, that I have received Letters
" from kings, from the remoteſt parts of the
" earth, to thank me for giving them the title
" of King; when ſo far from knowing, that
" any ſuch title had been decreed to them, I
" knew not even, that there were any ſuch men
" in being. What is then to be done? why as
" long as our *maſter of manners* continues here,
" I will follow your advice; but as ſoon as he is
" gone, will run away to your muſhrooms,
" *&c.* [*n*]."

In another Letter, " Since you expreſs, ſays
" he, ſuch a concern for me in your laſt, be aſ-
" ſured, my dear Pætus, that whatever can be
" done by art, (for it is not enough to act with
" prudence, ſome artifice alſo muſt now be em-
" ployed) yet whatever, I ſay, can be done by
" art, towards acquiring their good graces, I
" have already done it with the greateſt care;
" nor, as I believe, without ſucceſs; for I am
" ſo much courted by all, who are in any de-

[*n*] Ep. Fam. 9. 15. *Præfectus morum, or Maſter of the public manners*, was one of *the new Titles*, which the Senate had decreed to Cæsar.

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" gree of favor with Cæſar, that I begin to fancy that they love me: and though real love is " not eaſily diſtinguiſhed from falſe, except in " the caſe of danger, by which the ſincerity of " it may be tried, as of gold by fire; for all " other marks are common to both; yet I have " one argument to perſuade me that they really love me; becauſe both my condition and " theirs is ſuch, as puts them under no temptation to diſſemble: and as for him, who has " all power, I ſee no reaſon to fear any thing; " unleſs that all things become of courſe uncertain, when juſtice and right are once deſerted: " nor can we be ſure of any thing, that depends " on the will, not to ſay the paſſion of another. " Yet I have not in any inſtance particularly offended him, but behaved myſelf all along with " the greateſt moderation: for as once I took it " to be my duty, to ſpeak my mind freely in " that City, which owed its freedom to me; ſo " now, ſince that is loſt, to ſpeak nothing that " may offend him, or his principal friends: but " if I would avoid all offence, of things ſaid facetiouſly or by way of raillery, I muſt give " up all reputation of wit; which I would not " refuſe to do, if I could. But as to Cæſar " himſelf, he has a very piercing judgement; " and as your brother Servius, whom I take to " have been an excellent Critic, would readily " ſay, *this verſe is not Plautus's, that verſe is*; " having formed his ears by great uſe, to diſtinguiſh the peculiar ſtile and manner of different Poets; ſo Cæſar, I hear, who has already collected ſome volumes of Apophthegms, " if any thing be brought to him for mine, " which is not ſo, preſently rejects it: which he " now does the more eaſily, becauſe his friends

" live

" live almoſt continually with me; and in the
" variety of diſcourſe, when any thing drops
" from me, which they take to have ſome hu-
" mor or ſpirit in it, they carry it always to him,
" with the other news of the Town, for ſuch
" are his orders: ſo that if he hears any thing
" beſides of mine from other perſons, he does not
" regard it. I have no occaſion therefore for your
" example of Ænomaus, though aptly applied
" from Accius: for what is the envy, which
" you ſpeak of? or what is there in me to be
" envied now? but ſuppoſe there was every
" thing: it has been the conſtant opinion of Phi-
" loſophers, the onely men in my judgement,
" who have a right notion of virtue, *that a wiſe*
" *man has nothing more to anſwer for, than to keep*
" *himſelf free from guilt*; of which I take my-
" ſelf to be clear, on a double account; be-
" cauſe I both purſued thoſe meaſures, which
" were the juſteſt: and when I ſaw, that I had
" not ſtrength enough to carry them, did not
" think it my buſineſs to contend by force with
" thoſe who were too ſtrong for me. It is
" certain therefore, that I cannot be blamed, in
" what concerns the part of a good Citizen: all
" that is now left, is not to ſay or do any thing
" fooliſhly and raſhly againſt the men in power;
" which I take alſo to be the part of a wiſe man.
" As for the reſt, what people may report to be
" ſaid by me, or how he may take it, or with
" what ſincerity thoſe live with me, who now ſo
" aſſiduouſly court me, it is not in my power to
" anſwer. I comfort myſelf therefore with the
" conſciouſneſs of my former conduct, and the
" moderation of my preſent; and ſhall apply
" your ſimilitude from Accius, not onely to the
" caſe of envy, but of fortune; which I conſider

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" as light and weak, and what ought to be repelled by a firm and great mind, as waves by " a rock. For ſince the Greek Hiſtory is full " of examples, how the wiſeſt men have endured Tyrannies at Athens or Syracuſe; and " when their Cities were enſlaved, have lived " themſelves in ſome meaſure free; why may " not I think it poſſible to maintain my rank ſo, " as neither to offend the mind of any, nor hurt " my own dignity?——*&c.* [o]."

PÆTUS having heard, that Cæſar was *going to divide ſome lands in his neighbourhood to the ſoldiers*, began to be afraid for his own eſtate, and writes to Cicero, to know how far that diſtribution would extend: to which Cicero anſwers; " Are not you a pleaſant fellow, who when " Balbus has juſt been with you, aſk me what " will become of thoſe towns and their lands? " as if either I knew any thing, that Balbus " does not; or if at any time I chance to know " any thing, I do not know it from him: nay, " it is your part rather, if you love me, to let " me know what will become of me: for you " had it in your power to have learnt it from " him, either ſober, or at leaſt when drunk. " But as for me, my dear Pætus, I have done " enquiring about thoſe things: firſt, becauſe " we have already lived near four years, by " clear gain, as it were; if that can be called " gain, or this life, to outlive the Republic: " ſecondly, becauſe I myſelf ſeem to know what " will happen; for it will be, whatever pleaſes " the ſtrongeſt; which muſt always be decided " by arms: it is our part, therefore, to be content with what is allowed to us: he who cannot

[o] Ep. Fam. 9. 16.

" ſubmit

" ſubmit to this, ought to have choſen death. A. Urb. 707. Cic. 61. Coſſ. C. Julius Cæsar III. M. Æmilius Lepidus.
" They are now meaſuring the fields of Veiæ
" and Capenæ: this is not far from Tuſculum:
" yet I fear nothing: I enjoy it whilſt I may;
" wiſh that I always may; but if it ſhould hap-
" pen otherwiſe, yet ſince, with all my courage
" and philoſophy, I have thought it beſt to live,
" I cannot but have an affection for him, by
" whoſe benefit I hold that life: who, if he
" has an inclination to reſtore the Republic, as
" he himſelf perhaps may deſire, and we all
" ought to wiſh, yet he has linked himſelf ſo
" with others, that he has not the power to do
" what he would. But I procede too far; for
" I am writing to you: be aſſured however of
" this, that not onely I, who have no part in their
" counſils, but even the Chief himſelf does not
" know what will happen. We are ſlaves to
" him, he to the times: ſo neither can he
" know, what the times will require, nor we,
" what he may intend, *&c.* [*p*]."

The Chiefs of the *Cæſarian party*, who courted Cicero ſo much at this time, were Balbus, Oppius, Matius, Panſa, Hirtius, Dolabella: they were all in the firſt confidence with Cæſar, yet profeſſed the utmoſt affection for Cicero; were every morning at his levee, and perpetually engaging him to ſup with them; and the two laſt employed themſelves in a daily exerciſe *of declaming at his houſe*, for the benefit of his inſtruction; of which he gives the following acount in his familiar way to Pætus: " Hirtius and Dolabella are my ſcholars in ſpeak-
" ing; my maſters in eating: for you have
" heard, I gueſs, how they declame with me,

[*p*] Ep. Fam. 9. 17.

A. Urb. 707. Cic. 61. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.

" I ſup with them." In another Letter he tells him, " that as King Dionyſius, when driven " out of Syracuſe, turned ſchool-maſter at Co- " rinth, ſo he, having loſt his kingdom of the " Forum, had now opened a School—to which " he merrily invites Pætus, with the offer of a " ſeat and cuſhion next to himſelf, as his Uſh- " er [q]." But to Varro more ſeriouſly, " I " acquainted you, *ſays he*, before, that I am in- " timate with them all, and aſſiſt at their coun- " ſils: I ſee no reaſon why I ſhould not—for " it is not the ſame thing, *to bear what muſt be* " *born, and to approve what ought not to be ap-* " *proved.*" And again; " I do not forbear to ſup " with thoſe who now rule: what can I do? " we muſt comply with the times [r]."

THE onely uſe which he made of all this favor was, to ſkreen himſelf from any particular calamity in the general miſery of the times; and to ſerve thoſe unhappy men, who were driven from their country and their families, for their adherence to that cauſe, which he himſelf had eſpouſed. Cæſar was deſirous indeed to engage him in his meaſures, and attach him inſenſibly

[q] Hirtium ego & Dolabellam dicendi diſcipulos habeo, cœnandi magiſtros: puto enim te audiſſe—illos apud me declamitare, me apud eos cœnitare. Ib. 16.

Ut Dionyſius Tyrannus, cum Syracuſis pulſus eſſet, Corinthi dicitur ludum aperuiſſe, ſic ego—amiſſo regno forenſi, ludum quaſi habere cœperim—ſella tibi erit in ludo, tanquam Hypodidaſculo, proxima: eam pulvinus ſequetur. Ib. 18.

[r] Oſtentavi tibi, me iſtis eſſe familiarem, & conſiliis eorum intereſſe. Quod ego cur nolim nihil video. Non enim eſt idem, ferre ſi quid ferendum eſt, & probare, ſi quid probandum non eſt. Ib. 6.

Non deſino apud iſtos, qui nunc dominantur, cœnitare. Quid faciam? tempori ſerviendum eſt. Ib. 7.

to

to his intereſts: but he would bear no part in an adminiſtration, eſtabliſhed on the ruins of his country; nor ever cared to be acquainted with their affairs, or to inquire what they were doing: ſo that whenever he entered into their counſils, as he ſignifies above to Varro, it was onely when the caſe of ſome exiled friend required it; for whoſe ſervice he ſcrupled no pains of ſolliciting, and attending even Cæſar himſelf; though he was ſometimes ſhocked, as he complains, *by the difficulty of acceſs, and the indignity of waiting in an Antichamber*; not indeed through Cæſar's fault, who was always ready to give him audience; but from the multiplicity of his affairs, by whoſe hands *all the favors of the Empire were diſpenſed* [*s*]. Thus in a Letter to Ampius, whoſe pardon he had procured,—" I have ſol- " licited your cauſe, *ſays he*, more eagerly than " my preſent ſituation would well juſtify: for " my deſire to ſee you, and my conſtant love " for you, moſt aſſiduouſly cultivated on your " part, over-ruled all regard to the preſent weak " condition of my power and intereſt. Every " thing that relates to your return and ſafety is " promiſed, confirmed, fixed and ratified: I " ſaw, knew, was preſent at every ſtep: for " by good luck, I have all Cæſar's friends en- " gaged to me by an old acquaintance and " friendſhip: ſo that next to him they pay the " firſt regard to me: Panſa, Hirtius, Balbus, " Oppius, Matius, Poſtumius take all occaſions " to give me proof of their ſingular affection. " If this had been ſought and procured by me,

A. Urb. 707. Cic. 61. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.

[*s*] Quod ſi tardius fit quam volumus, magnis occupationibus ejus, a quo omnia petuntur, aditus ad eum difficiliores fuerunt.——Ep. Fam. 6. 13.

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" I ſhould have no reaſon, as things now ſtand, " to repent of my pains: but I have done no- " thing with the view of ſerving the times; I " had an intimacy of long ſtanding with them " all, and never gave over ſolliciting them on " your behalf: I found Panſa however the " readieſt of them all to ſerve you, and oblige " me; who has not onely an intereſt, but au- " thority with Cæſar, *&c.* [*t*]."

BUT while he was thus careſſed by Cæſar's friends, he was not leſs followed, we may imagine, by the friends of the Republic: theſe had always looked upon him as the chief patron of their liberty; whoſe counſils, if they had been followed, would have preſerved it; and whoſe authority gave them the only hopes that were left, of recovering it: ſo that his houſe was as much frequented, and his levee as much crouded, as ever; ſince *people now flocked*, he ſays, *to ſee a good Citizen, as a ſort of rarity* [*u*]. In another Letter, giving a ſhort account of his way of life, he ſays, " Early in the morning, I " receive the compliments of many honeſt men, " but melancholy ones; as well as of theſe gay " Conquerors; who ſhew indeed a very offici- " ous and affectionate regard to me. When " theſe viſits are over, I ſhut myſelf up in my " Library, either to write or read: Here ſome " alſo come to hear me, as a man of learning; " becauſe I am ſomewhat more learned than " they: the reſt of my time I give to the care " of my body: for I have now bewailed my

[*t*] Ib. 6. 12.

[*u*] Cum ſalutationi nos dedimus amicorum; quæ fit hoc etiam frequentius, quam ſolebat, quod quaſi avem albam, videntur bene ſentientem civem videre, abdo me in Bibliothecam. Ib. 7. 28.

" country,

" country longer, and more heavily, than any " mother ever bewailed her onely Son [x]." A. Urb. 707. Ciſſ. 61. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.

IT is certain, that there was not a man in the Republic ſo particularly engaged, both by principle and intereſt, to wiſh well to it's liberty, or who had ſo much to loſe by the ſubverſion of it as he: for as long as it was governed by civil methods, and ſtood upon the foundation of it's laws, he was undoubtedly the firſt Citizen in it; had the chief influence in the Senate; the chief authority with the people: and as all his hopes and fortunes were grounded on the peace of his country, ſo all his labors and ſtudies were perpetually applied to the promotion of it: it is no wonder therefore, in the preſent ſituation of the City, oppreſſed by arms, and a tyrannical power, to find him ſo particularly impatient under the common miſery, and expreſſing ſo keen a ſenſe of the diminution of his dignity, and the diſgrace of ſerving, where he had been uſed to govern.

CÆSAR, on the other hand, though he knew his temper and principles to be irreconcileable to his uſurped dominion, yet out of friendſhip to the man, and a reverence for his character, was determined to treat him with the greateſt humanity: and by all the marks of perſonal favor to make his life not onely tolerable, but

[x] Hæc igitur eſt nunc vita noſtra. Mane ſalutamus domi & bonos viros multos, ſed triſtis, & hos lætos victores; qui me quidem perofficioſe & peramanter obſervant. Ubi ſalutatio defluxit, litteris me involvo, aut ſcribo aut lego. Veniunt etiam qui me audiunt, quaſi doctum hominem, quia paullo ſum, quam ipſi, doctior. Inde corpori omne tempus datur. Patriam eluxi jam gravius & diutius quam ulla mater unicum filium. Ea. Fam. 9. 20.

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eaſy to him: yet all that he could do, had no other effect on Cicero, than to make him think and ſpeak ſometimes favorably of the *natural clemency of their maſter*; and to entertain ſome hopes from it, that he would one day be perſuaded to reſtore the public liberty: but excluſive of that hope, he never mentions his government, but as a real *Tyranny*; or his perſon in any other ſtile, than as the oppreſſor of his Country.

BUT he gave a remarkable proof at this time of his being no temporiſer, by writing a book *in praiſe of Cato*; which he publiſhed within a few months after Cato's death. He ſeems to have been left a *Guardian to Cato's Son*; as he was alſo *to young Lucullus, Cato's Nephew* [y]: and this teſtimony of Cato's friendſhip and judgement of him, might induce him the more readily to pay this honor to his memory. It was a matter however of no ſmall deliberation, in what manner he ought to treat the ſubject: his friends adviſed him not to be too explicit and particular in the detail of Cato's praiſes; but to content himſelf with a general encomium, for fear of irritating Cæſar, by puſhing the Argument too far. In a Letter to Atticus, he calls this, "an "*Archimedean problem*; but I cannot hit upon "any thing, *ſays he*, that thoſe friends of yours "will read with pleaſure, or even with pa- "tience; beſides, if I ſhould drop the account "of Cato's Votes and Speeches in the Senate, "and of his political conduct in the State, and "give a ſlight commendation onely of his con- "ſtancy and gravity, even this may be more, "than they will care to hear: but the man can-

[y] Ad Att. 13. 6. De Finib. 3. 2.

"not

" not be praiſed, as he deſerves, unleſs it be A. Urb. 707.
" particularly explaned, how he foretold all that Cic. 61.
" has happened to us; how he took arms to Coſſ.
" prevent its happening; and parted with life C. JULIUS
" rather than ſee it happen [z]." Theſe were CÆSAR III.
the topics, which he reſolved to diſplay with all M. ÆMILIUS
his force; and from the accounts given of the LEPIDUS.
work by antiquity, it appears, that he had ſpared no pains to adorn it, but *extolled Cato's virtue and character to the ſkies* [a].

THE book was ſoon ſpread into all hands; and Cæſar, inſtead of expreſſing any reſentment, affected to be much pleaſed with it; yet declared, that he would anſwer it: and Hirtius in the mean while, drew up a little piece in the form *of a Letter to Cicero*, filled with objections *to Cato's character, but with high compliments to Cicero himſelf; which Cicero* took care to make public, and calls *it a ſpecimen of what Cæſar's work was like to be* [b]. Brutus alſo compoſed and publiſhed a piece on the ſame ſubject; as well as another friend of Cicero, Fabius Gal-

[z] Sed de Catone πρόβλημα Ἀρχιμήδειον eſt. Non aſſequor ut ſcribam, quod cui conviuæ non modo libenter, ſed etiam æquo animo legere poſſint. Quin etiam ſi a ſententiis ejus dicſis, ſi ab omni voluntate, conſiliiſque quæ de Repub. habuit, recedam; φιλῶς que velim gravitatem conſtantiamque ejus laudare, hoc ipſum ἄκυρμα ſit. Sed vere laudari ille vir non poteſt, niſi hæc ornata ſint, quod ille ea, quæ nunc ſunt, & futura viderit, & ne fierent contenderit, & facta ne videret, vitam reliquerit. Ad Att. 12. 4.

[a] M. Ciceronis libro, quo Catonem cœlo æquavit, &c. Tacit. Ann. 4. 34.

[b] Qualis futura ſit Cæſaris vituperatio contra laudationem meam perſpexi ex eo libro, quem Hirtius ad me miſit, in quo colligit vitia Catonis, ſed cum maximis laudibus meis. Itaque miſi librum ad Muſcam, ut tuis librariis daret. Volo eum divulgari, &c. Ad Att. 12. 40. it. 41.

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lus [*c*]: but theſe were but little conſidered in compariſon of Cicero's: and Brutus had made ſome miſtakes in his account of the tranſactions, in which Cato had been concerned; eſpecially *in the debates on Catiline's plot*; in which he had given him *the firſt part and merit*, in derogation even of Cicero himſelf [*d*].

CÆSAR's anſwer was not publiſhed till the next year, upon his return from Spain; after the defeat of Pompey's *Sons*. It was a labored invective; anſwering Cicero's book paragraph by paragraph, and accuſing *Cato with all the art and force of his Rhetoric, as if in a public trial before Judges* [*e*]; yet with expreſſions of great reſpect towards Cicero; whom, for his virtues and abilities, he compared *to Pericles and Theramenes of Athens* [*f*]: and in a Letter upon it to Balbus, which was ſhewn by his order to Cicero, he ſaid, *that by the frequent reading of Cicero's Cato, he was grown more copious; but after he had read Brutus's, thought himſelf even eloquent* [*g*].

[*c*] Catonem tuum mihi mitte. Cupio enim legere. Ep. Fam. 7. 24.

[*d*] Catonem primum ſententiam putat de animadverſione dixiſſe, quam omnes ante dixerant præter Cæſarem, &c.——Ad Att. 12. 21.

From this and other particulars, which are mentioned in the ſame Letter, we may obſerve, that Salluſt had probably taken his account of the debates upon *Catiline's Accomplices*, from *Brutus's Life of Cato*, and choſen to copy even his miſtakes, rather than do juſtice to Cicero on that occaſion.

[*e*] Ciceronis libro — quid aliud Dictator Cæſar, quam reſcripta oratione, velut apud Judices reſpondit? Tacit. Ann. 4. 34. it. Quintil. 3. 7.

[*f*] Plutar. in Cic.

[*g*] Legi epiſtolam: multa de meo Catone, quo ſæpiſſime legendo ſe dicit copioſiorem factum; Bruti Catone lecto, ſe ſibi viſum diſertum. Ad Att. 13. 46.

THESE

THESE two rival pieces were much celebrated in Rome; and had their ſeveral admirers, as different parties and intereſt diſpoſed men, to favor the ſubject or the author of each: and it is certain, that they were the principal cauſe of eſtabliſhing and propagating that veneration, which poſterity has ſince paid to the memory of Cato. For his name being thrown into controverſy in that critical period of the fate of Rome, by the Patron of liberty on the one ſide, and the oppreſſor of it on the other, became of courſe a kind of *Political teſt* to all ſucceding ages; and a perpetual argument of diſpute between the friends of liberty and the flatterers of power. But if we conſider his character without prejudice, he was certainly a great and worthy man; a friend to truth, virtue, liberty: yet falſely meaſuring all duty by the abſurd rigor of the *Stoical* rule, he was generally diſappointed of the end, which he ſought by it, the happineſs both of his private and public life. In his private conduct, he was ſevere, moroſe, inexorable; baniſhing all the ſofter affections, as natural enemies to juſtice, and as ſuggeſting falſe motives of acting, from favor, clemency, and compaſſion: in public affairs he was the ſame; had but one rule of policy; *to adhere to what was right*; without regard to times or circumſtances, or even to a force that could controul him: for inſtead of managing the power of the Great, ſo as to mitigate the ill, or extract any good from it, he was urging it always to acts of violence by a perpetual defiance; ſo that, *with the beſt intentions in the world, he often did great harm to the Republic.* This was his general behaviour; yet from ſome particular facts explaned above, it appears, that his ſtrength of mind was not always

A. Urb. 707. Cic. 61. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.

A. Urb. 707. Cic. 61. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.

ways impregnable, but had its weak places of pride, ambition and party zeal; which when managed and flattered to a certain point, would betray him ſometimes into meaſures contrary to his ordinary rule of right and truth. The laſt act of his life was agreeable to his nature and philoſophy: *when he could no longer be, what he had been; or when the ills of life overbalanced the good*; which, by the principles of his ſect, was a juſt cauſe for dying [*b*]; he put an end to his life, with a ſpirit and reſolution, which would make one imagine, *that he was glad to have found an occaſion of dying in his proper character.* On the whole, his life was rather admirable, than amiable; fit to be praiſed, rather than imitated [*i*].

As ſoon as Cicero had publiſhed his *Cato*, he wrote his piece called *the Orator*, at the requeſt of Brutus; containing the plan or delineation of what he himſelf eſteemed the moſt perfect eloquence or manner of ſpeaking. He calls it *the fifth part or book*, deſigned to complete the argument of *his Brutus, and the other three, on the ſame ſubject.* It was received with great approbation; and in a Letter to Lepta, who had complimented him upon it, he declares, *that what-*

[*b*] In quo enim plura ſunt, quæ ſecundum naturam ſunt, hujus officium eſt in vita manere; in quo autem aut ſunt plura contraria, aut fore videntur, hujus officium eſt e vita excedere. De Fin. 3. 18.

Vetus eſt enim; ubi non ſis, qui fueris, non eſſe cur velis vivere. Ep. Fam. 7. 3.

[*i*] Cato ſic abiit e vita, ut cauſam moriundi nactum ſe eſſe gauderet.—cum vero cauſam juſtam Deus ipſe dederit, ut tunc Socrati, nunc Catoni, &c. Tuſc. Quæſt. 1. 30.

Catoni--moriundum potius, quam Tyranni vultus adſpiciendus fuit. De Offic. 1. 31.

Non immaturus deceſſit: vixit enim, quantum debuit vivere. Senec. Conſol. ad Marc. 20.

ever

ever judgement he had in ſpeaking, he had thrown it all into that work, and was content to riſk his reputation on the merit of it [*k*]. A. Urb. 707. Cic. 61. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.

HE now likewiſe ſpoke that famous ſpeech of thanks to Cæſar, *for the pardon of M. Marcellus*; which was granted upon the interceſſion of the Senate. Cicero had a particular friendſhip with all the family of the Marcelli; but eſpecially with this Marcus; who from the defeat of Pompey at Pharſalia, retired to Mitylene in Leſbos, where he lived with ſo much eaſe and ſatisfaction to himſelf in a philoſophical retreat, that Cicero, as it appears from his Letters, was forced to uſe all his art and authority to perſuade him to return, and take the benefit of that grace, which they had been laboring to obtain for him [*l*]. But how the affair was tranſacted, we may learn from Cicero's account of it to Serv. Sulpicius, who was then Proconſul of Greece—"Your "condition, ſays he, is better than ours in this "particular, that you dare venture to write your "grievances; we cannot even do that with ſafe-"ty: not through any fault of the Conqueror, "than whom nothing can be more moderate, "but of victory itſelf, which in civil wars is al-"ways inſolent: we have had the advantage of "you however in one thing; in being acquaint-"ed a little ſooner than you, with the pardon "of your collegue Marcellus; or rather indeed "in ſeeing how the whole affair paſſed; for I "would have you believe, that from the begin-

[*k*] Ita tres erunt de Oratore: quartus, Brutus: quintus, Orator. De Div. 2. 1.

Oratorem meum tantopere a te probari, vehementer gaudeo: mihi quidem ſic perſuadeo, eo, quicquid habuerim judicii in dicendo, in illum librum contuliſſe. Ep. Fam. 6. 18.

[*l*] Ep. Fam. 4. 7, 8, 9.

"ning,

A. Urb. 707. Cic. 61. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.

" ning of theſe miſeries, or ever ſince the public
" right has been decided by arms, there has
" nothing been done beſides this with any dig-
" nity. For Cæſar himſelf, after having com-
" plained of the moroſeneſs of Marcellus, for
" ſo he called it, and praiſed in the ſtrongeſt
" terms the equity and prudence of your con-
" duct, preſently declared beyond all our hopes,
" that whatever offence he had received from
" the man, he could refuſe nothing to the inter-
" ceſſion of the Senate. What the Senate did
" was this: upon the mention of Marcellus by
" Piſo, his Brother Caius having thrown him-
" ſelf at Cæſar's feet, they all roſe up, and went
" forward in a ſuplicating manner towards Cæ-
" ſar: in ſhort, this day's work appeared to me
" ſo decent, that I could not help fancying that
" I ſaw the image of the old republic reviving:
" when all therefore, who were aſked their opi-
" nions before me, had returned thanks to Cæ-
" ſar, excepting Volcatius, (for he declared,
" that he would not have done it, though he
" had been in Marcellus's place, I, as ſoon as
" I was called upon, changed my mind; for I
" had reſolved with myſelf to obſerve an eternal
" ſilence, not through any lazineſs, but the loſs
" of my former dignity; but Cæſar's greatneſs
" of mind, and the laudable zeal of the Senate,
" got the better of my reſolution. I gave thanks
" therefore to Cæſar in a long ſpeech, and have
" deprived myſelf by it, I fear, on other occa-
" ſions, of that honeſt quiet, which was my
" onely comfort in theſe unhappy times: but
" ſince I have hitherto avoided giving him of-
" fence, and if I had always continued ſilent,
" he would have interpreted it perhaps, as a
" proof of my taking the Republic to be ruined,

" I ſhall

"I ſhall ſpeak for the future not often, or rather A. Urb. 707.
"very ſeldom; ſo as to manage at the ſame Cic. 61.
"time both his favor, and my own leiſure for Coſſ.
"ſtudy [m]." C. JULIUS CÆSAR III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.

CÆSAR, though he ſaw the Senate unanimous in their petition for Marcellus, yet took the pains to call for the particular opinion of every Senator upon it: a method never practiſed, except in caſes of debate, and where the houſe was divided: but he wanted the uſual tribute of flattery upon this act of grace; and had a mind probably to make an experiment of Cicero's temper, and to draw from him eſpecially ſome incenſe on the occaſion; nor was he diſappointed of his aim; for Cicero, touched by his generoſity, and greatly pleaſed with the act itſelf, on the account of his friend, returned thanks to him in a ſpeech, which, though made upon the ſpot, yet for elegance of diction, vivacity of ſentiment, and politeneſs of compliment, is ſuperior to any thing extant of the kind in all antiquity. The many fine things, which are ſaid in it of Cæſar, have given ſome handle indeed for a charge of inſincerity againſt Cicero: but it muſt be remembered, that he was delivering a ſpeech of thanks, not onely for himſelf, but in the name and at the deſire of the Senate, where his ſubject naturally required the embelliſhments of Oratory; and that all his compliments are grounded on a ſuppoſition, *that Cæſar intended to reſtore the Republic: of which he entertained no ſmall hopes at this time, as he ſignifies in a letter to one of Cæſar's principal friends* [n]. This therefore he recommends, enforces, and requires from him in his ſpeech, with the ſpirit of an old

[m] Ep. Fam. 4. 4.

[n] Sperare tamen videor, Cæſari, collegæ noſtro, fore curæ & eſſe, ut habeamus aliquam Rempublicam. Ep. Fam. 13. 68.

A. Urb. 707. Cic. 61. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.

Roman; and no reaſonable man will think it ſtrange, that ſo free an addreſs to a Conqueror, in the heigth of all his power, ſhould want to be tempered with ſome few ſtrokes of flattery. But the following paſſage from the oration itſelf will juſtify the truth of what I am ſaying.

"IF this, ſays he, Cæſar was to be the end "of your immortal acts, that after conquering "all your enemies, you ſhould leave the Repub- "lic in the condition in which it now is; con- "ſider, I beſeech you, whether your divine vir- "tue would not excite rather an admiration of "you, than any real glory: for glory is the il- "luſtrious fame of many and great ſervices either "to our friends, our country, or to the whole "race of mankind. This part therefore ſtill re- "mains; there is one act more to be performed "by you to eſtabliſh the Republic again, that "you may reap the benefit of it yourſelf in peace "and proſperity. When you have paid this "debt to your country, and fulfilled the ends of "your nature by a ſatiety of living, you may "then tell us, if you pleaſe, that you have lived "long enough: yet what is it after all, that we "can really call long, of which there is an end? "for when that end is once come, all paſt plea- "ſure is to be reckoned as nothing, ſince no "more of it is to be expected. Though your "mind, I know, was never content with theſe "narrow bounds of life, which nature has aſ- "ſigned to us, but inflamed always with an ar- "dent love of immortality: nor is this in- "deed to be conſidered as your life, which is "comprized in this body and breath; but that, "that, I ſay, is your life, which is to floriſh in "the memory of all ages: which poſterity will "cheriſh, and eternity itſelf propagate. It is to "this

" this that you muſt attend; to this that you A. Urb. 707.
" muſt form yourſelf: which has many things Cic. 61.
" already to admire, yet wants ſomething ſtill, Coſſ.
" that it may praiſe in you. Poſterity will be C. JULIUS CÆSAR III.
" amazed to hear and read of your commands, M. ÆMILIUS
" provinces; the Rhine, the Ocean, the Nile; LEPIDUS.
" your innumerable battels, incredible victories,
" infinite monuments, ſplendid triumphs: but
" unleſs this City be eſtabliſhed again by your
" wiſdom and counſils, your name indeed will
" wander far and wide, yet will have no certain
" ſeat or place at laſt, where to fix itſelf. There
" will be alſo amongſt thoſe, who are yet un-
" born, the ſame controverſy, that has been
" amongſt us; when ſome will extoll your ac-
" tions to the ſkies; others perhaps will find
" ſomething defective in them; and that one
" thing above all, if you ſhould not extinguiſh
" this flame of civil war, by reſtoring liberty to
" your country: for the one may be looked up-
" on, as the effect of fate, but the other is the
" certain act of wiſdom. Pay a reverence there-
" fore to thoſe judges, who will paſs judgement
" upon you in ages to come; and with leſs par-
" tiality perhaps than we; ſince they will neither
" be biaſſed by affection or party, nor prejudiced
" by hatred or envy to you: and though this, as
" ſome falſely imagine, ſhould then have no re-
" lation to you, yet it concerns you certainly at
" the preſent, to act in ſuch a manner, that no
" oblivion may ever obſcure the luſter of your
" praiſes. Various were the inclinations of the
" Citizens, and their opinions wholly divided:
" nor did we differ only in ſentiments and wiſhes,
" but in arms alſo and camps: the merits of the
" cauſe were dubious; and the contention be-
" tween two celebrated Leaders: many doubted

A. Urb. 707. Cic. 61. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.

"what was the beſt; many what was convenient; many what was decent; ſome alſo what was lawful, &c. [*o*]."

BUT though Cæſar took no ſtep towards reſtoring the Republic, he employed himſelf this ſummer in another work of general benefit to mankind; *the reformation of the Kalendar; by accommodating the courſe of the year, to the exact courſe of the Sun*; from which it had varied ſo widely, as to occaſion a ſtrange confuſion in all their accounts of time.

THE Roman year, from the whole inſtitution of Numa, was lunar; borrowed from the Greeks; amongſt whom it conſiſted of *three hundred and fifty four days:* Numa added one more to them to make the whole number odd, which was thought the more fortunate; and to fill up the deficiency of his year to the meaſure of the ſolar courſe, inſerted likewiſe or *intercalated*, after the manner of the Greeks, an extraordinary month *of twenty two days*, every ſecond year, and *twenty three* every fourth, between *the twenty third and twenty fourth day of February* [*p*]: he committed the care of *intercalating* this month and the ſupernumerary day, to the College of Prieſts; who in proceſs of time, partly by a negligent, partly a ſuperſtitious, but chiefly by an arbitrary abuſe of their truſt, uſed either to drop or inſert them, as it was found moſt convenient to themſelves or their friends, to make the current year longer

[*o*] Pro M. Marcell. 8, 9, 10.

[*p*] This was uſually called Intercalaris, though Plutarch gives it the name of Mercedonius, which none of the Roman writers mention, except that Feſtus ſpeaks of ſome days under the title of Mercedoniæ, becauſe the Merces or wages of workmen were commonly paid upon them.

or

or ſhorter [*q*]. Thus Cicero, when haraſſed by a perpetual courſe of pleading, prayed, *that there might be no intercalation* to lengthen his fatigue; and when Proconſul of Cilicia, preſſed Atticus to exert all his intereſt, to prevent *any intercalation within the year*; that it might not protract his government, and retard his return to *Rome* [*r*]. Curio, on the contrary, when he could not perſuade the Prieſts to prolong the year of his Tribunate by an *Intercalation*, made that a pretence for abandoning the Senate, and going over to Cæſar [*s*].

A. Urb. 707. Cic. 61. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.

THIS licence of *intercalating* introduced the confuſion above-mentioned, in the computation of their time: ſo that the order of all their months was tranſpoſed from their ſtated ſeaſons; the winter months carried back into Autumn, the Autumnal into Summer: till Cæſar reſolved to put an end to this diſorder by aboliſhing the ſource of it, the uſe of *intercalations*; and inſtead of the *Lunar* to eſtabliſh the *Solar* year, adjuſted to the exact meaſure of the Sun's revolution in the *Zodiac*, or to that period of time, in which it returns to the point, from which it ſet out: and as this, according to the Aſtronomers of that age, was ſuppoſed to be *three hundred and ſixty five days, and ſix hours*, ſo he divided the days into

[*q*] Quod inſtitutum perite a Numa poſteriorum Pontificum negligentia diſſolutum eſt. De Leg. 2. 12. vid. Cenſorin. de die Nat. c. 20. Macrob. Sat. 1. 14.

[*r*] Nos hic in multitudine & celebritate judiciorum — ita deſtinemur, ut quotidie vota faciamus ne intercaletur. Ep. Fam. 7. 2. Per fortunas primum illud præfulci atque præmuni quæſo, ut ſimus annui? ne intercaletur quidem. Ad Att. 5. 13. it. 9.

[*s*] Leviſſime enim, quia de intercalando non obtinuerat, transfugit ad populum & pro Cæſare loqui cœpit. Ep. Fam. 8. 6. Dio. p. 148.

A. Urb. 707. Cic. 61. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.

twelve artificial months, and to ſupply the deficiency of the ſix hours, by which they fell ſhort of the Sun's complete courſe, he ordered a day *to be intercalated* after every four years, between *the twenty third and twenty fourth of February* [*t*].

BUT to make this new year begin, and procede regularly, he was forced to inſert into the current year, *two extraordinary months*, between November and December; the one of *thirty three*, the other of *thirty four days*; beſides the ordinary *intercalary month of twenty three days*, which fell into it of courſe; which were all neceſſary to fill up the number of days, that were loſt to the old year, by the omiſſion of *intercalations*, and to replace the months in their proper ſeaſons [*u*]: All this was effected by the care and ſkill of Soſigenes, a celebrated *Aſtronomer of Alexandria*, whom Cæſar had brought to Rome for that purpoſe [*x*]: and a *new Kalendar* was formed upon it by Flavius *a Scribe*, digeſted according to the order of the Roman Feſtivals, and the old manner of computing their days by *Kalends*, *Ides*, *and Nones*; which was publiſhed and authorized by *the Dictator's Edict*, not long after his return from *Afric*. This year therefore was the longeſt, that Rome had ever known; conſiſting of *fifteen months*, or *four hundred and forty five days*, and is called *the loſt of the confuſion* [*y*]; becauſe it introduced

[*t*] This day was called *Biſſextus*, from its being a repetition or duplicate of *the Sixth of the Kalends of* March, which fell always on the 24th; and hence our *Intercalary or Leap-year* is ſtill called *Biſſextile*.

[*u*] Quo autem magis in poſterum ex Kalendis Januariis nobis temporum ratio congrueret, inter Novembrem & Decembrem menſem adjecit duos alios: fuitque is annus—xv. menſium cum Intercalario, qui ex conſuetudine eum annum inciderat. Suet. J. Cæſ. 40.

[*x*] Plin. Hiſt. N. 18. 25.

[*y*] Adnitente ſibi M. Flavio

troduced *the Julian, or ſolar year*, with the commencement of the enſuing January; which continues in uſe to this day in all Chriſtian Countries, without any other variation, than that of *the old and new ſtile*—[z].

A. Urb. 707. Cic. 61. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.

SOON after the affair of Marcellus, Cicero had another occaſion of trying both his eloquence and intereſt with Cæſar, in the cauſe of Ligarius; who was now in exil on the account of his having been in arms againſt Cæſar, *in the African war*, in which he had born a conſiderable command. His two Brothers however had always been on Cæſar's ſide; and being recommended by Panſa, and warmly ſupported by Cicero, had almoſt prevailed for his pardon; of which Cicero gives the following account in a Letter to Ligarius himſelf.

Cicero to Ligarius.

" I would have you to be aſſured, that I em-
" ploy my whole pains, labor, care, ſtudy, in

vio ſcriba, qui ſcriptos dies ſingulos ita ad Dictatorem detulit, ut & ordo eorum inveniri facillime poſſet, & invento, certus ſtatus perſeveraret—eaque re factum eſt, ut annus confuſionis ultimus in quadringentos quadraginta tres dies tenderetur. Macrob. Sat. 1. 14. Dio. 227.

MACROBIUS makes this year to conſiſt of 443 days, but he ſhould have ſaid 445, ſince, according to all accounts, ninety days were added to the old year of 355.

[z] This difference *of the old and new ſtile* was occaſioned by a regulation made *by Pope* Gregory A. D. 1582. for it having been obſerved, that the computation of *the Vernal Equinox* was fallen back ten days from the time of *the Council of Nice*, when it was found to be on *the 21ſt of March*; according to which all the feſtivals of the Church were then ſolemnly ſettled; Pope Gregory, by the advice of Aſtronomers, cauſed ten days to be entirely ſunk and thrown out of the current year, between the 4th and 15th of October.

A. Urb. 707. Cic. 61. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.

" procuring your reſtoration: for as I have ever
" had the greateſt affection for you, ſo the ſin-
" gular piety and love of your Brothers, for
" whom, as well as yourſelf, I have always
" profeſſed the utmoſt eſteem, never ſuffer me
" to neglect any opportunity of my duty and ſer-
" vice to you. But what I am now doing, or
" have done, I would have you learn from their
" Letters, rather than mine; but as to what I
" hope, and take to be certain in your affair,
" that I chuſe to acquaint you with myſelf: for
" if any man be timorous in great and dange-
" rous events, and fearing always the worſt, ra-
" ther than hoping the beſt, I am he; and if this
" be a fault, confeſs myſelf not to be free from it;
" yet on the twenty-ſeventh of November, when,
" at the deſire of your Brothers, I had been
" early with Cæſar, and gone through the trou-
" ble and indignity of getting acceſs and audi-
" ence; when your Brothers and relations had
" thrown themſelves at his feet, and I had ſaid,
" what your cauſe and circumſtances required, I
" came away perſuaded, that your pardon was
" certain: which I collected, not onely from
" Cæſar's diſcourſe, which was mild and gene-
" rous, but from his eyes and looks, and many
" other ſigns, which I could better obſerve than
" deſcribe. It is your part therefore, to behave
" yourſelf with firmneſs and courage; and as
" you have born the more turbulent part pru-
" dently, to bear this calmer ſtate of things
" chearfully: I ſhall continue ſtill to take the
" ſame pains in your affairs, as if there was the
" greateſt difficulty in them, and will heartily
" ſupplicate in your behalf, as I have hitherto
" done, not onely Cæſar himſelf, but all his
" friends,

" friends, whom I have ever found moſt affecti- A. Urb. 707,
" onate to me. Adieu [a]." Cic. 61.
Coſſ.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR III.
M. ÆMILIUS
LEPIDUS.

WHILE Ligarius's affair was in this hopefull way, Q. Tubero, who had an old quarrel with him, being deſirous to obſtruct his pardon, and knowing Cæſar to be particularly exaſperated againſt all thoſe, *who, through an obſtinate averſion to him, had renewed the war in Afric*, accuſed him, in the uſual forms, of an uncommon zeal and violence in proſecuting that war. Cæſar privately encouraged the proſecution, and ordered the cauſe to be tried *in the Forum*, where he ſat upon it in perſon, ſtrongly prepoſſeſſed againſt the Criminal, and determined to lay hold on any plauſible pretence for condemning him: but the force of Cicero's eloquence, exerted with all his ſkill in a cauſe, which he had much at heart, got the better of all his prejudices, and extorted a pardon from him againſt his will.

THE merit of this ſpeech is too well known, to want to be enlarged upon here: thoſe, who read it, will find no reaſon to charge Cicero with flattery: but the free ſpirit, which it breaths, in the face of that power, to which it was ſuing for mercy, muſt give a great idea of the art of the ſpeaker, who could deliver ſuch bold truths without offence; as well as of the generoſity of the Judge, who heard them not onely with patience, but approbation.

" OBSERVE, Cæſar, ſays he, with what fide-
" lity I plead Ligarius's cauſe, when I betray
" even my own by it. O that admirable clemen-
" cy, worthy to be celebrated by every kind of
" praiſe, letters, monuments! M. Cicero de-
" fends a criminal before you, by proving him

[a] Ep. Fam. 6. 14.

" not

A. Urb. 707. Cic. 61. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.

" not to have been in thoſe ſentiments, in which
" he owns himſelf to have been; nor does he
" yet fear your ſecret thoughts, or while he is
" pleading for another, what may occur to you
" about himſelf. See, I ſay, how little he is
" afraid of you. See with what a courage and
" gaiety of ſpeaking your generoſity and wiſdom
" inſpire me. I will raiſe my voice to ſuch a
" pitch, that the whole Roman people may hear
" me. After the war was not onely begun,
" Cæſar, but in great meaſure finiſhed, when I
" was driven by no neceſſity, I went by choice
" and judgement to join myſelf with thoſe, who
" had taken arms againſt you. Before whom do
" I ſay this? why before him, who, though he
" knew it to be true, yet reſtored me to the Re-
" public, before he had even ſeen me; who
" wrote to me from Egypt, that I ſhould be
" the ſame man, that I had always been; and
" when he was the onely Emperor within the
" dominion of Rome, ſuffered me to be the
" other; and to hold my laurelled Faſces, as long
" as I thought them worth holding—[*b*]. Do
" you then, Tubero, call Ligarius's conduct
" wicked? for what reaſon? ſince that cauſe
" has never yet been called by that name: ſome
" indeed call it miſtake, others fear; thoſe who
" ſpeak more ſeverely, hope, ambition, hatred,
" obſtinacy; or at the worſt, raſhneſs; but no
" man, beſides you, has ever called it wickedneſs.
" For my part, were I to invent a proper and ge-
" nuin name for our calamity, I ſhould take it
" for a kind of fatality, that had poſſeſſed the un-
" wary minds of men; ſo that none can think it
" ſtrange, that all human counſils were over-

[*b*] Pro Ligar. 3.

" ruled

" ruled by a divine neceſſity. Call us then, if A. Urb. 707.
" you pleaſe, unhappy; though we can never Cic. 61.
" be ſo, under this Conqueror; but I ſpeak not Coſſ.
" of us who ſurvive, but of thoſe who fell; C. Julius
" let them be ambitious; let them be angry; Cæsar III.
" let them be obſtinate; but let not the guilt of M. Æmilius
" crime, of fury, of parricide, ever be charged Lepidus.
" on Cn. Pompey, and on many of thoſe who
" died with him. When did we ever hear any
" ſuch thing from you, Cæſar? or what other
" view had you in the war, than to defend
" yourſelf from injury?—you conſidered it from
" the firſt, not as a war, but a ſeceſſion; not as
" an hoſtile, but civil diſſenſion: where both
" ſides wiſhed well to the Republic; yet through
" a difference, partly of counſils, partly of in-
" clinations, deviated from the common good:
" the dignity of the Leaders was almoſt equal;
" though not perhaps of thoſe who followed
" them: the cauſe was then dubious, ſince there
" was ſomething which one might approve on
" either ſide; but now, that muſt needs be
" thought the beſt, which the Gods have fa-
" vored; and after the experience of your cle-
" mency, who can be diſpleaſed with that victory,
" in which no man fell, who was not actually in
" arms [c]?"

The Speech was ſoon made public, and greedily bought by all: Atticus was extremely pleaſed with it, and very induſtrious in recommending it; ſo that Cicero ſays merrily to him by Letter, " You have ſold my Ligarian ſpeech finely: " whatever I write for the future, I will make you " the Publiſher:" and again, " your authority, " I perceive, has made my little oration famous:

[c] Ib. 6.

" for

A. Urb. 707. Cic. 61. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.

"for Balbus and Oppius write me word, that "they are wonderfully taken with it, and have "ſent a copy to Cæſar [*d*]." The ſucceſs, which it met with, made Tubero aſhamed of the figure that he made in it; ſo that he applied to Cicero, to have ſomething inſerted in his favor, with the mention *of his wife, and ſome of his family*, who were *Cicero's near relations:* but Cicero excuſed himſelf, *becauſe the ſpeech was got abroad, nor had he a mind*, he ſays, *to make any apology for Tubero's conduct* [*e*].

LIGARIUS was a man of diſtinguiſhed zeal for the liberty of his Country: which was the reaſon both of Cicero's pains to preſerve, and of Cæſar's averſeneſs to reſtore him. After his return he lived in great confidence with Brutus, who found him a fit perſon to bear a part in the conſpiracy againſt Cæſar; but happening to be taken ill near the time of it's execution, when Brutus, in a viſit to him, began to lament, *that he was fallen ſick in a very unlucky hour*; *Ligarius, raiſing himſelf preſently upon his elbow, and taking Brutus by the hand, replied*; *Yet ſtill, Brutus, if you mean to do any thing worthy of yourſelf, I am well* [*f*]: nor did he diſappoint Brutus's opinion of him, for we find him afterwards in the liſt of the conſpirators.

[*d*] Ligarianam præclare vendidiſti. Poſthac quicquid ſcripſero, tibi præconium deferam. Ad Att. 13. 12.

Ligarianam, ut video, præclare auctoritas tua commendavit. Scripſit enim ad me Balbus & Oppius, mirifice ſe probare, ob eamque cauſam ad Cæſarem eam ſe oratiunculam miſiſſe. Ib. 19.

[*e*] Ad Ligarianam de uxore Tuberonis, & privigna, neque poſſum jam addere, eſt enim res pervulgata, neque Tuberonem volo defendere. Mirifice eſt enim φιλαίτιος. Ib. 20.

[*f*] Plutarch. in Brut.

IN

In the end of the year, Cæſar was called away in great haſt into Spain to oppoſe the attempts of Pompey's Sons, who, by the credit of their father's name, were become maſters again of all that Province; and with the remains of the troops, which Labienus, Varus, and the other Chiefs, who eſcaped, had gathered up from Afric, were once more in condition to try the fortune of the field with him: where the great danger, to which he was expoſed from this laſt effort of a broken party, ſhews how deſperate his caſe muſt have been, if Pompey himſelf, with an intire and veteran army, had firſt made choice of this country for the ſcene of the war.

Cicero all this while paſſed his time with little ſatisfaction at home, being diſappointed of the eaſe and comfort, which he expected from his new marriage: his children, as we may imagine, while their own mother was living, would not eaſily bear with a *young mother-in-law* in the houſe with them. The Son eſpecially was preſſing to get a particular appointment ſettled for his maintenance, and to have leave alſo to go to Spain, and *make a Campaign under Cæſar*; whither his Couſin Quintus was already gone: Cicero did not approve this project; and endeavoured by all means to diſſuade him from it; repreſenting to him, *that it would naturally draw a juſt reproach upon them, for not thinking it enough to quit their former party, unleſs they fought againſt it too; and that he would not be pleaſed to ſee his Couſin more regarded there than himſelf*; and promiſing withal, if he would conſent to ſtay, *to make him an ample and honorable allowance* [g]. This diverted

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. Coſſ. C. Julius Cæsar Dictator III. M. Æmilius Lepidus Mag. Equit.

[g] De Hiſpania duo attuli; primum idem, quod tibi, me

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS Mag. Equit.

diverted him from the thoughts of Spain; though not from the deſire of removing from his Father, and taking a ſeparate houſe in the City, with a diſtinct family of his own: but Cicero thought it beſt to ſend him to Athens, in order, to ſpend a few years in the ſtudy of Philoſophy, and polite Letters; and to make the propoſal agreeable, offered him an appointment, *that would enable him to live as ſplendidly as any of the Roman Nobility, who then reſided there, Bibulus, Acidinus*, or *Meſſala* [*h*]. This ſcheme was accepted, and ſoon after executed: and young Cicero was ſent to Athens, with *two of his Father's Freedmen, L. Tullius Montanus, and Tullius Marcianus*, as the Intendants and Counſellors of his general conduct, while the particular direction of his ſtudies was left to the principal Philoſophers of the place; and above all to Cratippus, the chief of *the Peripatetic* Sect [*i*].

IN this uneaſy ſtate both of his private and public life, he was oppreſſed by a new and moſt cruel affliction, the death of his beloved daughter Tullia; which happened ſoon *after her divorce* from *Dolabella*; whoſe manners and humor were intirely diſagreeable to her. Cicero had long been deliberating with himſelf and his friends, *whether Tullia ſhould not firſt ſend the divorce*; but a pru-

me vereri vituperationem: non ſatis eſſe ſi hæc arma reliquiſſemus? etiam contraria? deinde fore ut angeretur, cum a fratre familiaritate & omni gratia vinceretur. Velim magis liberalitate uti mea quam ſua libertate.—— Ad Att. 12. 7.

[*h*] Præſtabo nec Bibulum, nec Acidinum, nec Meſſalam, quos Athenis futuros audio, majores ſumptus facturos, quam quod ex eis mercedibus accipietur. Ib. 32.

[*i*] L. Tullium Montanum noſti, qui cum Cicerone profectus eſt. Ib. 52, 53.

Quanquam te, Marce fili, annum jam audientem Cratippum, &c. De Off. 1. 1. it. 2. 2.

dential regard to Dolabella's power, and intereſt with Cæſar, which was of uſe to him in theſe times, ſeems to have withheld him [*k*]. The caſe was the ſame with Dolabella, he was willing enough to part with Tullia, but did not care to break with Cicero, whoſe friendſhip was a credit to him; and whom gratitude obliged him to obſerve and reverence; ſince Cicero had twice defended and preſerved him in capital cauſes [*l*]: ſo that it ſeems moſt probable, that *the divorce was of an amicable kind*; and executed at laſt by the conſent of both ſides: for it gave no apparent interruption to the friendſhip between Cicero and Dolabella, which they carried on with the ſame ſhew of affection, and profeſſions of reſpect toward each other, as if the relation had ſtill ſubſiſted.

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS Mag. Equit.

TULLIA died in childbed, *at her huſband's houſe* [*m*]; which confirms the probability of their agreement in the divorce: it is certain at leaſt, that ſhe died in Rome; where Cicero *was detained*, he ſays, *by the expectation of the birth, and to receive the firſt payment of her fortune back again from Dolabella, who was then in Spain: ſhe was delivered, as it was thought, very happily, and ſuppoſed to be out of danger*; when an unexpected turn in her caſe put an end to her life, to the inexpreſſible grief of her Father [*n*]. WE

[*k*] Te oro ut de hac miſera cogites—melius quidem in peſſimis nihil fuit diſcidio—nunc quidem ipſe videtur denunciare—placet mihi igitur, & idem tibi nuncium remitti, &c. Ad Att. xi. 23. vid. ib. 3.

Quod ſcripſi de nuncio remittendo, quæ ſit iſtius vis hoc tempore, & quæ concitatio multitudinis, ignoro. Si metuendus iratus eſt, quies tamen ab illa fortaſſe naſcetur. Ep. Fam. 14. 13.

[*l*] Cujus ego ſalutem duobus capitis judiciis ſumma contentione defendi——Ep. Fam. 3. 10.

[*m*] Plutarch in Cic.

[*n*] Me Romæ tenuit omnino Tulliæ meæ partus; ſed cum

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS Mag. Equit.

WE have no account of the iſſue of this birth, which writers confound with that which happened three years before, when ſhe was delivered at the end of ſeven months of *a puny male Child:* but whether it was from the firſt, or the ſecond time of her lying in, it is evident, that ſhe left *a Son by Dolabella*, who ſurvived her, and whom Cicero mentions more than once in his Letters to Atticus, by the name of Lentulus [*o*]: deſiring him *to viſit the Child*, and ſee a due care taken of him, and *to aſſign him what number of ſervants he thought proper* [*p*].

TULLIA was about two and thirty years old at the time of her death; and by the few hints which are left of her character, appears to have been an excellent and admirable woman: ſhe was moſt affectionately and piouſly obſervant of her Father; and to the uſual graces of her ſex, hav-

cum ea quemadmodum ſpero, ſatis firma ſit, teneor tamen, dum a Dolabellæ procuratoribus exigam primam penſionem. — Ep. Fam. 6. 18.

[*o*] The Father's names were Publius Cornelius Lentulus Dolabella; the two laſt being ſurnames acquired perhaps by adoption, and diſtinguiſhing the different branches of the Cornelian family.

[*p*] Velim aliquando, cum erit tuum commodum, Lentulum puerum viſas, eique de mancipiis, quæ tibi videbitur, attribuas—ad Att. 12. 28.

Quod Lentulum inviſis, valde gratum. Ib. 30.—vid. etiam 18.——

N.B. Mr. Bayle declares himſelf ſurprized, *to find Aſconius Pæd. ſo ill informed of the hiſtory of Tullia, as to tell us, that after Piſo's death, ſhe was married to P. Lentulus, and died in child-bed at his houſe:* in which ſhort account, there are contained, he ſays, *two or three lies.* But Plutarch confirms the ſame account; and the miſtake will reſt at laſt, not on Aſconius, but on Mr. Bayle himſelf, who did not reflect, from the authority of thoſe Ancients, that Lentulus was one of Dolabella's names, by which he was called indifferently, as well as by any of the reſt. See Bayl. Diction. Artic. Tullia, not. k.

ing added the more ſolid accompliſhments of *knowledge and polite letters*, was qualified to be the companion as well as the delight of his age; and was juſtly eſteemed not onely as one of *the beſt, but the moſt learned* of the Roman Ladies. It is not ſtrange therefore, that the loſs of ſuch a daughter, in the prime of her life, and the moſt comfortleſs ſeaſon of his own, ſhould affect him with all that grief, which the greateſt calamity could imprint on a temper naturally timid and deſponding.

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS Mag. Equit.

PLUTARCH tells us, *that the Philoſophers came from all parts to comfort him*; but that can hardly be true, except of thoſe, who lived at Rome, or in his own family; for his firſt care was, to ſhun all company as much as he could, by removing to Atticus's houſe; where he lived chiefly in the Library; endeavouring to relieve his mind, *by turning over every book, which he could meet with on the ſubject of moderating grief* [q]: but finding his reſidence here too public, and a greater reſort to him than he could bear, he retired to Aſtura, one of his ſeats near Antium; *a little iſland on the Latian ſhore at the mouth of a river of the ſame name, covered with woods and groves, cut out into ſhady walks*; a ſcene of all others the fitteſt to indulge melancholy, and where he could give a free courſe to his grief. "Here, ſays he, I live without the ſpeech of "man: every morning early I hide myſelf in "the thickeſt of the wood, and never come "out till the evening: next to yourſelf, nothing "is ſo dear to me, as this ſolitude: my whole "converſation is with my books; yet that is

[q] Me mihi non defuiſſe tu teſtis es, nihil enim de mœrore minuendo ab ullo ſcriptum eſt, quod ego non domi tuæ legerim. Ad Att. 12. 14.

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS Mag. Equit.

" ſometimes interrupted by my tears, which I " reſiſt as well as I can, but am not yet able to " do much [r]."

ATTICUS urged him to quit this retirement, and divert himſelf with buſineſs, and the company of his friends; and put him gently in mind, that, by afflicting himſelf ſo immoderately, he would hurt his character, and give people a handle to cenſure his weakneſs: to which he makes the following anſwer.

" As to what you write, that you are afraid, " leſt the exceſs of my grief ſhould leſſen my " credit and authority; I do not know what " men would have of me. Is it, that I ſhould " not grieve? that is impoſſible: or that I " ſhould not be oppreſſed with grief? who " was ever leſs ſo? when I took refuge at " your houſe, was any man ever denied ac- " ceſs to me? or did any one ever come, who " had reaſon to complain of me? I went from " you to Aſtura: where thoſe gay ſparks, who " find fault with me, are not able even to " read ſo much as I have written: how well, " is nothing to the purpoſe, yet it is of a kind " which no body could write with a diſordered " mind—I ſpent a month in my gardens about " Rome; where I received all who came, with " the ſame eaſineſs as before. At this very mo- " ment, while I am employing my whole time " in reading and writing, thoſe, who are with " me, are more fatigued with their leiſure, than

[r] In hac ſolitudine careo omnium colloquio, cumque manè in ſilvam me abſtruſi denſam & aſperam, non exeo inde ante veſperum. Secundum te, nihil mihi amicius ſolitudine. In ea mihi omnis ſermo eſt cum litteris; eum tamen interpellat fletus; cui repugno quoad poſſum, ſed adhuc pares non ſumus. lb. 15.

" I with

" I with my pains. If any one aſks, why I am " not at Rome; becauſe it is vacation time: why " not in ſome of my villa's, more ſuitable to " the ſeaſon; becauſe I could not eaſily bear ſo " much company. I am, where he, who has " the beſt houſe at Baiæ, chuſes to be, in this " part of the year. When I come to Rome, no " body ſhall find any thing amiſs, either in my " looks, or diſcourſe: as to that chearfulneſs, " with which we uſed to ſeaſon the miſery of " theſe times, I have loſt it indeed for ever; but " will never part with my conſtancy and firm- " neſs, either of mind or ſpeech, *&c.* [*s*]."

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS Mag. Equit.

ALL his other friends were very officious likewiſe in making their compliments of condolence, and adminiſtring arguments of comfort to him: among the reſt, Cæſar himſelf, in the hurry of his affairs in Spain, wrote him a Letter on the occaſion, dated from *Hiſpalis, the laſt of April* [*t*]. Brutus wrote another, *ſo friendly and affectionate, that it greatly moved him* [*u*]: Lucceius alſo, one of the moſt eſteemed writers of that age, ſent him two; the firſt to condole, the ſecond to expoſtulate with him for perſevering, to cheriſh an unmanly and uſeleſs grief [*x*]: but the following Letter of Ser. Sulpicius is thought to be a maſterpiece of the conſolatory kind.

Ser. Sulpicius to M. T. Cicero.

" I was exceedingly concerned, as indeed I " ought to be, to hear of the death of your

[*s*] Ad Att. 12. 40.

[*t*] A Cæſare litteras accepi conſolatorias, datas prid. Kal. Maii, Hiſpali. Ad Att. 13. 20.

[*u*] Bruti litteræ ſcriptæ & prudenter & amice, multas tamen mihi lacrimas attulerunt. Ib. 12. 13.

[*x*] Vid. Ep. Fam. 5. 13, 14.

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS Mag. Equit.

" daughter Tullia; which I looked upon as an
" affliction common to us both. If I had been
" with you, I would have made it my buſineſs
" to convince you, what a real ſhare I take in
" your grief. Though that kind of conſola-
" tion is but wretched and lamentable, as it is
" to be performed by friends and relations, who
" are overwhelmed with grief, and cannot en-
" ter upon their taſk without tears, and ſeem to
" want comfort rather themſelves, than to be
" in condition to adminiſter it to others. I re-
" ſolved therefore to write to you in ſhort, what
" occured upon it to my own mind: not that
" I imagined, that the ſame things would not
" occur alſo to you, but that the force of your
" grief might poſſibly hinder your attention to
" them. What reaſon is there then to diſturb
" yourſelf ſo immoderately on this melancholy
" occaſion? conſider how fortune has already
" treated us; how it has deprived us of what
" ought to be as dear to us as children; our
" country, credit, dignity, honors. After ſo
" miſerable a loſs as this, what addition can it
" poſſibly make to our grief, to ſuffer one miſ-
" fortune more? or how can a mind, after being
" exerciſed in ſuch trials, not grow callous, and
" think every thing elſe of inferior value? but
" is it for your daughter's ſake that you grieve?
" yet how often muſt you neceſſarily reflect, as
" I myſelf frequently do, that thoſe cannot be
" ſaid to be hardly dealt with, whoſe lot it has
" been in theſe times, without ſuffering any af-
" fliction to exchange life for death. For
" what is there in our preſent circumſtances that
" could give her any great invitation to live?
" what buſineſs? what hopes? what proſpect
" of comfort before her? was it to paſs her

" days

" days in the married ſtate, with ſome young man of the firſt quality? (for you, I know, on the account of your dignity, might have choſen what ſon-in-law you pleaſed out of all our youth, to whoſe fidelity you might ſafely have truſted her,) was it then for the ſake of bearing children, whom ſhe might have had the pleaſure to ſee floriſhing afterwards, in the enjoyment of their paternal fortunes, and riſing gradually to all the honors of the ſtate, and uſing the liberty, to which they were born, in the protection of their friends and clients? but what is there of all this, which was not taken away, before it was even given to her? but it is an evil, you'll ſay, to loſe our children. It is ſo; yet it is much greater to ſuffer, what we now endure. I cannot help mentioning one thing, which has given me no ſmall comfort, and may help alſo perhaps to mitigate your grief. On my return from Aſia, as I was ſailing from Ægina towards Megara, I began to contemplate the proſpect of the countries around me: Ægina was behind, Megara before me; Piræeus on the right; Corinth on the left: all which towns, once famous and floriſhing, now lie overturned, and buried in their ruins: upon this ſight, I could not but think preſently within myſelf, alas! how do we poor mortals fret and vex ourſelves, if any of our friends happen to die, or to be killed, whoſe life is yet ſo ſhort, when the carcaſſes of ſo many noble cities lie here expoſed before me in one view? Why wilt thou not then command thyſelf, Servius, and remember, that thou art born a man? Believe me, I was not a little confirmed by this contemplation: try the

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS Mag. Equit.

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS Mag. Equit.

" force of it therefore, if you pleaſe, upon " yourſelf; and imagine the ſame proſpect be- " fore your own eyes. But to come nearer " home; when you conſider how many of our " greateſt men have periſhed lately at once; " what deſtruction has been made in the Em- " pire; what havock in all the Provinces; how " can you be ſo much ſhocked to be deprived " of the fleeting breath of one little woman? " who, if ſhe had not died at this time, muſt " neceſſarily have died a few years after, ſince " that was the condition of her being born. " But recall your mind from reflections of this " kind, to the conſideration of yourſelf; and " think rather on what becomes your character " and dignity: that your daughter lived, as " long as life was worth enjoying, as long as " the Republic ſtood; had ſeen her Father " Prætor, Conſul, Augur; been married to the " nobleſt of our youth; had taſted every good " in life; and when the Republic fell, then " quitted it: what ground is there then, either " for you, or her, to complain of fortune on " this account? In ſhort, do not forget, that " you are Cicero; one, who has been uſed al- " ways to preſcribe and give advice to others; " nor imitate thoſe paltry Phyſicians, who pre- " tend to cure other people's diſeaſes, yet are " not able to cure their own; but ſuggeſt rather " to yourſelf the ſame leſſon, which you would " give in the ſame caſe. There is no grief ſo " great, which length of time will not alle- " viate: but it would be ſhamefull in you to " wait for that time, and not to prevent it by " your wiſdom: beſides, if there be any ſenſe " in the dead, ſuch was her love and piety to " you, that ſhe muſt be concerned to ſee, how

" much

" much you afflict yourself. Give this therefore to " the deceased; give it to your friends; give it to " your country; that it may have the benefit of " your assistance and advice, whenever there shall " be occasion. Lastly, since fortune has now made " it necessary to us to accommodate ourselves to " our present situation; do not give any one a " handle to think, that you are not so much " bewailing your daughter, as the state of the " times, and the victory of certain persons. I " am ashamed to write any more, lest I should " seem to distrust your prudence; and will add " therefore but one thing farther, and conclude. " We have sometimes seen you bear posperity " nobly, with great honor and applause to your- " self; let us now see, that you can bear ad- " versity with the same moderation, and with- " out thinking it a greater burthen, than you " ought to do: lest in the number of all your " other virtues, this one at last be thought to " be wanting. As to myself, when I under- " stand that your mind is grown more calm and " composed, I will send you word, how all " things go on here, and what is the state of " the Province. Adieu [*y*]."

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. Coss. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS Mag. Equit.

His answer to Sulpicius was the same in effect with what he gave to all his friends; " that his " case was different from all the examples, " which he had been collecting for his own " imitation, of men, who had born the loss of " children with firmness; since they lived in " times when their dignity in the state was able " in great measure to compensate their misfor- " tune: but for me, *says he*, after I had lost all " those ornaments, which you enumerate, and

[*y*] Ep. Fam. 4. 5.

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS Mag. Equit.

" which I had acquired with the utmoſt pains, " I have now loſt the onely comfort that was " left to me. In this ruin of the Republic, " my thoughts were not diverted by ſerving " either my friends or my country: I had no " inclination to the Forum; could not bear the " ſight of the Senate; took myſelf, as the caſe " in truth was, to have loſt all the fruit of my " induſtry and fortunes: yet when I reflected, " that all this was common to you, and to ma- " ny others, as well as to myſelf; and was for- " cing myſelf therefore to bear it tolerably; I " had ſtill in Tullia, ſomewhat always to recur " to, in which I could acquieſce; and in whoſe " ſweet converſation I could drop all my cares " and troubles: but by this laſt cruel wound, " all the reſt, which ſeemed to be healed, are " broken out again afreſh: for as I then could " relieve the uneaſineſs, which the Republic " gave me, by what I found at home; ſo I " cannot now, in the affliction which I feel at " home, find any remedy abroad; but am dri- " ven, as well from my houſe, as the Forum; " ſince neither my houſe can eaſe my public " grief, nor the public my domeſtic one [z]."

THE remonſtrances of his friends had but little effect upon him; all the relief that he found, was from reading and writing, in which he continually employed himſelf; and *did what no man had ever done before him, draw up a treatiſe of conſolation for himſelf*; from which he profeſſes to have received his greateſt comfort; " Though he wrote it, he owns, at a time " when, in the opinion of the Philoſophers, he " was not ſo wiſe as he ought to have been:

[z] Ep. Fam. 4. 6. it. ad Att. 12. 28.

" but

" but I did violence, *ſays he*, to my nature; to " make the greatneſs of my ſorrow give place " to the greatneſs of the medicine; though I " acted againſt the advice of Chryſippus, who " diſſuades the application of any remedy to " the firſt aſſaults of grief [*a*]." In this work he chiefly imitated Crantor, *the Academic*, who had left a celebrated piece on the ſame ſubject; *yet he inſerted alſo whatever pleaſed him, from any other author who had written upon it* [*b*]; illuſtrating his precepts all the way, by examples from their own hiſtory, *of the moſt eminent Romans of both ſexes, who had born the ſame misfortune with a remarkable conſtancy.* This book was much read by *the primitive Fathers, eſpecially Lactantius*; to whom we are obliged for *the few fragments*, which remain of it: for, as the Critics have long ſince obſerved, that piece, which we now ſee in the collection of his writings, under the title of *Conſolation*, is undoubtedly ſpurious.

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS. Mag. Equit.

[*a*] Feci, quod ante me nemo, ut ipſe me per litteras conſolarer —— affirmo tibi nullam conſolationem eſſe talem. Ad Att. 12. 14. it. ib. 28.

Quid ego de conſolatione dicam? quæ mihi quidem ipſi ſane aliquantum medetur, cæteris item multum illam profuturam puto. De Div. 2. 1.

In conſolationis libro, quem in medio, (non enim ſapientes eramus) mœrore & dolore conſcripſimus: quodque vetat Chryſippus, ad recentes quaſi tumores animi remedium adhibere, id nos fecimus, naturæque vim adtulimus, ut magnitudini medicinæ doloris magnitudo concederet. Tuſc. Diſp. 4. 29.

[*b*] Crantorem ſequor. Plin. Præf. Hiſt. N.

Neque tamen progredior longius, quam mihi doctiſſimi homines concedunt, quorum ſcripta omnia, quæcunquæ ſunt in eam ſententiam non legi ſolum—ſed in mea etiam ſcripta tranſtuli. Ad Att. 12. 21. it. 22.

BUT

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS Mag. Equit.

BUT the deſign of this treatiſe was, not onely to relieve his own mind, but to conſecrate the virtues and memory of Tullia to all poſterity: nor did his fondneſs for her ſtop here; but ſuggeſted the project of a more effectual conſecration, *by building a Temple to her*, and erecting her into a ſort *of Deity*. It was an opinion of the Philoſophers, which he himſelf conſtantly favored, and in his preſent circumſtances particularly indulged, "that the ſouls of men "were of heavenly extraction: and that the "pure and chaſt, at their diſſolution from the "body, returned to the fountain from which "they were derived, to ſubſiſt eternally in the "fruition and participation of the Divine Na"ture; whilſt the impure and corrupt were left "to grovel below in the dirt and darkneſs of "thoſe inferior regions." He declares therefore, "that as the wiſdom of the ancients had "conſecrated and deified many excellent per"ſons of both ſexes, whoſe Temples were then "remaining; the progeny of Cadmus; of Am"phitryon; of Tyndarus; ſo he would perform "the ſame honor to Tullia; who, if any crea"ture had ever deſerved it, was of all the moſt "worthy of it. I will do it therefore, *ſays he*, "and conſecrate thee, thou beſt and moſt learn"ed of women, now admitted into the aſſem"bly of the Gods, to the regard and veneration "of all mortals [*c*]."

IN

[*c*] Non enim omnibus illi ſapientes arbitrari ſunt eundem curſum in cœlum patere. Nam vitiis & ſceleribus contaminatos deprimi in tenebras, atque in cœno jacere docuerunt; caſtos autem animos, puros, integros, incorruptos, bonis etiam ſtudiis atque artibus expolitos, leni quodam ac facili lapſu ad Deos, id eſt ad naturam ſui ſimilem

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS Mag. Equit.

IN his Letters to Atticus we find the ſtrongeſt expreſſions of his reſolution and impatience to ſee this deſign executed: "I will have a Temple, "*ſays he*; it is not poſſible to divert me from "it—if it be not finiſhed this ſummer, I ſhall "not think myſelf clear of guilt—I am more "religiouſly bound to the execution of it, than "any man ever was to the performance of his "vow [*d*]." He ſeems to have deſigned a Fabric of great magnificence; for he had ſettled the plan with his Architect, and contracted for Pillars of Chian marble, with a ſculptor of that Iſle; where both the work and the materials were the moſt eſteemed of any in Greece [*e*]. One reaſon, that determined him to *a Temple*, rather than *a Sepulchre*, was, that in the one he was not limited in the expenſe, whereas in the other he was confined by law to a certain ſumm,

ſimilem pervolare — Fragm. Conſolat. ex Lactantio—

Cum vero & mares & fœminas complures ex hominibus in Deorum numero eſſe videamus, & eorum in urbibus atque agris auguſtiſſima templa veneremur, aſſentiamur eorum ſapientiæ, quorum ingeniis & inventis omnem vitam legibus & inſtitutis excultam conſtitutamque habemus. Quod ſi ullum unquam animal conſecrandum fuit, illud profecto fuit. Si Cadmi, aut Amphitryonis progenies, aut Tyndari in cœlum tollenda fama fuit, huic idem honos certe dicandus eſt. Quod quidem faciam; teque omnium optimam doctiſſimamque, approbantibus Diis ipſis, in eorum cœtu locatam, ad opinionem omnium mortalium conſecrabo. Ib.—vid. Tuſc. Diſp. l. 1. c. xi. 12, 30, 31.

[*d*] Fanum fieri volo, neque mihi erui poteſt. [Ad Att. 12. 36.] Redeo ad Fanum, niſi hac æſtate abſolutum erit— ſcelere me liberatum non putabo. [ib. 41.] Ego me majore religione, quam quiſquam fuit ullius voti, obſtrictum puto. Ib. 43.

[*e*] De Fano illo dico—— neque de genere dubito, placet enim mihi Cluatii. [ib. 18.] Tu tamen cum Apella Chio confice de columnis. [ib. 19.] vid. Plin. Hiſt. N. 36. 5. 6.

which

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS Mag. Equit.

which he could not excede, without the forfeiture of the ſame ſumm alſo to the public: yet this, as he tells us, was not the chief motive, but a reſolution, that he had taken, of making *a proper apotheoſis* [*f*]. The onely difficulty was

[*f* Nunquam mihi venit in mentem, quo plus inſumtum in monumentum eſſet, quam neſcio quid, quod lege conceditur, tantundem populo dandum eſſe: quod non magnopere moveret, niſi neſcio quomodo, ἀλόγως fortaſſe. Nollem illud ullo nomine niſi Fani appellari. [Att. 12. 35.] Sepulcri ſimilitudinem effugere non tam propter pœnam legis ſtudeo, quam ut maxime aſſequar ἀποθέωσιν. Ib. 36.

This fact ſeems to confirm what the Author of the book of *Wiſdom* obſerves on the origin of Idolatry; that it was owing to the fond affection of Parents, ſeeking to do honor to their deceaſed children. *The Father*, ſays he, *oppreſſed with an unexpected grief for the ſudden death of his child, after making an image of him, began to worſhip him as a God, though he was but a dead man, and enjoined certain rites and myſteries to his ſervants and dependents.* [Wiſd. xiv. 15.] But it was not Cicero's real thought after all to exalt his daughter into a Deity: he knew it to be abſurd, as he often declares, to pay *divine honors to dead mortals*; and tells us, how their very *Publicans* had decided that queſtion in *Bœotia*: for when the lands of *the Immortal Gods* were excepted out of their leaſe, *by the law of the Cenſors*, they denied, *that any one could be deemed an immortal God, who had once been a man; and ſo made the lands of Amphiaraus and Prophonius pay the ſame taxes with the reſt.* [de Nat. Deor. 3. 19.] Yet in a political view he ſometimes recommends the worſhip of thoſe ſons of men, whom their eminent ſervices to mankind had advanced to the rank of inferior Gods, as it inculcated, in a manner the moſt ſenſible, the doctrine of *the Soul's Immortality*: [de Leg. 2. xi.] And ſince a temple was the *moſt antient way* of doing honor to thoſe dead, who had deſerved it; [Plin. Hiſt. 27.] he conſidered it as the moſt effectual method of perpetuating the memory and praiſes of Tullia; and was willing to take the benefit of the popular ſuperſtition, and follow the example of thoſe Antients, who had poliſhed and civilized human life, by conſecrating

was to find a place that ſuited his purpoſe: his first thought was *to purchaſe certain gardens croſs the Tiber*, which lying near the city, and in the public view, were the moſt likely to draw a reſort of votaries to his new Temple: "he preſſes Atticus therefore to buy them for him at "any rate, without regard to his circumſtances; "ſince he would ſell, or mortgage, or be con- "tent to live on little, rather than be diſap- "pointed: Groves and remote places, *he ſays*, "were proper onely for Deities of an eſtabliſh- "ed name and religion; but for the Deification "of mortals, public and open ſituations were "neceſſary, to ſtrike the eyes, and attract the "notice of the people." But he found ſo many obſtructions in all his attempts of purchaſing, that to ſave trouble and expence, Atticus adviſed him, *to build at laſt in one of his own villa's*; to which he ſeemed inclined, leſt the ſummer ſhould paſs without doing any thing: yet he was irreſolute ſtill, which of his villa's he ſhould chuſe; and diſcouraged, by reflecting *on the change of maſters*, to which all private eſtates were expoſed, in a ſucceſſion of ages; which might defeat the end of his building, and deſtroy the honor of his Temple; by converting it to other uſes, or ſuffering it to fall into ruins [*g*].

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS Mag. Equit.

BUT

conſecrating ſuch patterns of virtue to the veneration of their fellow Citizens. Vid. Mongault. Not. 1. ad Att. 12. 18.

[*g*] Sed ineunda nobis ratio eſt, quemadmodum in omni mutatione dominorum, qui innumerabiles fieri poſſunt in infinita poſteritate—illud quaſi conſecratum remanere poſſit. Equidem jam nihil egeo vectigalibus, & parvo contentus eſſe poſſum. Cogito interdum trans Tiberim hortos aliquos parare, & quidem ob hanc cauſam maxime; nihil enim video quod

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS Mag. Equit.

BUT after all his eagerneſs and ſollicitude about this *Temple*, it was never actually built by him; ſince we find no mention of it in any of the ancient writers; which could not have been omitted, if a fabric ſo memorable had ever been erected [*b*]. It is likely, that as his grief evaporated, and his mind grew more calm, he began to conſider his project more philoſophically; and to perceive the vanity of expecting any laſting glory from ſuch monuments, which time itſelf, in the courſe of a few ages, muſt neceſſarily deſtroy: it is certain at leaſt, that as he made no ſtep towards building it this ſummer, ſo Cæſar's death, which happened before the next, gave freſh obſtruction to it, by the hurry of affairs, in which it engaged him; and though he had not ſtill wholly dropt the thoughts of it, but continued to make preparation, and to ſet apart a fund for it [*i*]; yet in the ſhort and buſy ſcene

quod tam celebre eſſe poſſet. [ad Att. 12. 19.] De hortis, etiam atque etiam te rogo. [ib. 22.] Ut ſæpe locuti ſumus, commutationes dominorum reformido. [ib. 26.] Celebritatem requiro. ib. 37.

[*b*] Cælius Rhodiginus tells us, that in the time of Sixtus the 4th, there was found near Rome on the Appian way, over-againſt the Tomb of Cicero, the body of a woman, whoſe hair was dreſſed up in network of gold, and which, from the inſcription, was thought to be the body of Tullia. It was intire, and ſo well preſerved by ſpices, as to have ſuffered no injury from time; yet when it was removed into the City, it mouldered away in three days. But this was onely the haſty conjecture of ſome learned men of that time, which, for want of authority to ſupport it, ſoon vaniſhed of itſelf; for no inſcription was ever produced to confirm it, nor has it been mentioned, that I know of, by any other author, that there was any ſepulchre of Cicero, on the Appian way—— vid. Cæl. Rhod. Lection. antiq. l. 3. c. 24.

[*i*] Quod ex iſtis fructuoſis rebus receptum eſt, id ego ad illud fanum ſepoſitum putabam. Ad Att. 15. 15.

of

of life, which remained to him, he never had leiſure enough to carry it into execution. A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR. Dictator III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS Mag. Equit.

HE was now grown ſo fond of ſolitude, that all company was become uneaſy to him; and when his friend Philippus, the Father-in-law of Octavius, happened to come to his villa in that neighbourhood, he was not a little diſturbed at it, from the apprehenſion of being teized with his viſits; and he tells Atticus, with ſome pleaſure, *that he had called upon him onely to pay a ſhort compliment, and went back again to Rome, without giving him any trouble* [*k*]. His wife Publilia alſo wrote him word, *that her Mother and Brother intended to wait upon him, and that ſhe would come along with them, if he would give her leave*; which ſhe begged in the moſt earneſt and ſubmiſſive terms— but his anſwer was, *that he was more indiſpoſed than ever to receive company, and would not have them come:* and leſt they ſhould come without leave, he deſires Atticus *to watch their motions, and give him notice, that he might contrive to avoid them* [*l*]. A denial ſo peremptory confirms what Plutarch ſays, *that his wife was now in diſgrace with him, on account of her carriage towards his daughter, and for ſeeming to rejoice at her death:* a crime, which, in the tenderneſs of his affliction, appeared to

[*k*] Mihi adhuc nihil prius fuit hac ſolitudine, quam vereor, ne Philippus tollat: heri enim veſperi venerat. Ib. 12. 16.

Quod eram veritus, non obturbavit Philippus: nam ut heri me ſalutavit, ſtatim Romam profectus eſt. Ib. 18.

[*l*] Publilia ad me ſcripſit, matrem ſuam cum Publilio ad me venturam, & ſe una, ſi ego paterer: orat multis & ſupplicibus verbis ut liceat, & ut ſibi reſcribam —reſcripſi, me etiam gravius eſſe affectum, quam tum, cum illi dixiſſem, me ſolum eſſe velle, quare nolle me hoc tempore eam ad me venire——te hoc nunc rogo ut explores. Ib. 32.

him

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS Mag. Equit.

him ſo heinous, that he could not bear the thoughts of ſeeing her any more; and though it was inconvenient to him, to part with her fortune at this time, yet he reſolved *to ſend her a divorce*, as a proper ſacrifice to the honor of Tullia [*m*].

BRUTUS likewiſe about this time took a reſolution of putting away his wife Claudia, for the ſake of taking Porcia, *Bibulus's widow, and his Uncle Cato's daughter*. But he was much cenſured for this ſtep; ſince Claudia had no ſtain upon her character; was nobly born; the Siſter of Appius Claudius; and nearly allied to Pompey; *ſo that his Mother Servilia*, though Cato's Siſter, ſeems to have been averſe to the divorce, and ſtrongly in the intereſt of Claudia, againſt her Niece. Cicero's advice upon it was, *that if Brutus was reſolved upon the thing, he ſhould do it out of hand*, as the beſt way to put an end to people's talking; by ſhewing, that it was not done out of levity or complaiſance to the times, but to take *the daughter of Cato*, whoſe name was now highly popular [*n*]: which Brutus ſoon after complied with, and made Porcia his wife.

THERE happened another accident this ſummer, which raiſed a great alarm in the City; *the ſurprizing death of Marcellus*, whom Cæſar

[*m*] This affair of Publilia's divorce, is frequently referred to, though with ſome obſcurity, in his Letters; and we find Atticus employed by him afterwards to adjuſt with the Brother Publilius, the time and manner of paying back the fortune. Vid. ad Att. 13. 34. 47: 16. 2.

[*n*] A te expecto ſi quid de Bruto: quanquam Nicias confectum putabat: ſed divortium non probari. — Ad Att. 13. 9.

Brutus ſi quid — curabis ut ſciam. Cui quidem quam primum agendum puto, præſertim ſi ſtatuit; ſermunculum enim omnem aut reſtinxerit aut ſedarit. Ib. 10.

had

had lately pardoned. He had left Mitylene, and was come as far as Piræeus, on his way towards Rome; where he ſpent a day, with his old friend and collegue, Serv. Sulpicius, intending to purſue his voyage the day following by ſea; but in the night, after Sulpicius had taken leave of him, *on the twenty-third of May*, he was killed by his friend and client, Magius, who *ſtabbed himſelf inſtantly, with the ſame poignard*: of which Sulpicius ſent the following account to Cicero.

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS Mag. Equit.

Serv. Sulpicius to M. T. Cicero.

" THOUGH I know that the news, which I " am going to tell you, will not be agreeable, " yet ſince chance and nature govern the lives " of us all, I thought it my duty to acquaint " you with the fact, in what manner ſoever it " happened. On the twenty-ſecond of May I " came by ſea from Epidaurus to Piræeus, to " meet my collegue Marcellus, and for the ſake " of his company, ſpent that day with him " there. The next day, when I took my leave " of him, with deſign to go from Athens into " Bœotia, to finiſh the remaining part of my " juriſdiction, he, as he told me, intended to " ſet ſail at the ſame time towards Italy. The " day following, about four in the morning, " when I was preparing to ſet out from Athens, " his friend, P. Poſtumius, came to let me " know, that Marcellus was ſtabbed by his " companion P. Magius Cilo after ſupper, and " had received two wounds, the one in his ſto- " mach, the other in his head near the ear, " but he was in hopes ſtill, that he might live; " that Magius preſently killed himſelf; and

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS Mag. Equit.

" that Marcellus ſent him to inform me of the " caſe, and to deſire, that I would bring ſome " Phyſicians to him. I got ſome together im- " mediately, and went away with them before " break of day: but when I was come near Pi- " ræeus, Acidinus's boy met me with a note " from his maſter, in which it was ſignified, that " Marcellus died a little before day. Thus a " great man was murthered by a baſe villain; " and he, whom his very enemies had ſpared " on the account of his dignity, received his " death from the hands of a friend. I went " forward however to his tent, where I found " two of his freedmen, and a few of his ſlaves; " all the reſt, they ſaid, were fled, being in a " terrible fright, on the account of their maſter's " murther. I was forced to carry his body with " me into the City, in the ſame litter in which " I came, and by my own ſervants: where I " provided a funeral for him, as ſplendid as the " condition of Athens would allow. I could " not prevail with the Athenians to grant a " place of burial for him within the City; they " ſaid, that it was forbidden by their religion, " and had never been indulged to any man: " but they readily granted, what was the moſt " deſireable in the next place, to bury him in " any of their public Schools, that I pleaſed. I " choſe a place therefore, the nobleſt in the " Univerſe, *the School of the Academy*, where I " burnt him; and have ſince given orders, that " the Athenians ſhould provide a Marble Mo- " nument for him in the ſame place. Thus I " have faithfully performed to him, both when " living and dead, every duty, which our part- " nerſhip in office, and my particular relation

" to him required. Adieu. The thirtieth of " May from Athens [o]." A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS Mag. Equit.

M. MARCELLUS was the head of a family, which, for a ſucceſſion of many ages, had made the firſt figure in Rome, and was himſelf adorned with all the virtues, that could qualify him to ſuſtain that dignity, which he derived from his noble anceſtors. He had formed himſelf in a particular manner for the Bar, where he ſoon acquired great fame; and, of all the Orators of his time, ſeems to have approached the neareſt to Cicero *himſelf*, in the character of a complete Speaker. His manner of ſpeaking was *elegant, ſtrong, and copious; with a ſweetneſs of voice, and propriety of action, that added a grace and luſter to every thing that he ſaid. He was a conſtant admirer and imitator of Cicero, of the ſame principles in peace, and on the ſame ſide in war*; ſo that Cicero laments his abſence, as the loſs *of a companion and partner*, in their common ſtudies and labors of life. Of all the Magiſtrates, he was the fierceſt oppoſer of Cæſar's power, and the moſt active to reduce it: his high ſpirit, and the ancient glory of his houſe, made him impatient under the thought of receiving a maſter; and when the battle of Pharſalia ſeemed at laſt to have impoſed one upon them, he retired to Mitylene, the uſual reſort of men of learning; there to ſpend the reſt of his days in a ſtudious retreat, remote from arms, and the hurry of war; and determined neither to ſeek, nor to accept any grace from the Conqueror. Here Brutus paid him a viſit, and found him, as he gave an account to Cicero, *as perfectly eaſy and happy under all the miſery of the times, from the*

[o] Ep. Fam. 4. 12.

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS Mag. Equit.

conſciouſneſs of his integrity, as the condition of human life could bear; ſurrounded with the principal Scholars and Philoſophers of Greece, and eager in the purſuit of knowledge; ſo that in departing from him towards Italy, *he ſeemed*, he ſaid, *to be going himſelf into exil, rather than leaving Marcellus in it* [*p*].

MAGIUS, who killed him, was of a family which had born ſome of the public offices, and had himſelf been *Quæſtor* [*q*]; and having attached himſelf to the fortunes of Marcellus, and followed him through the wars and his exil, was now returning with him to Italy. Sulpicius gives no hint of any cauſe, that induced him to commit this horrid fact: which, by the immediate death of Magius, could never be clearly known.

[*q*] Mihi, inquit, Marcellus ſatis eſt notus. Quid igitur de illo judicas?—quod habiturus es ſimilem tui—ita eſt, & vehementer placet. Nam & didicit, & omiſſis cæteris ſtudiis id egit unum, ſeſeque quotidianis commentationibus acerrime exercuit. Itaque & lectis utitur verbis & frequentibus; & ſplendore vocis, dignitate motus ſit ſpecioſum & illuſtre, quod dicitur; omniaque ſic ſuppetunt, ut ei nullam deeſſe virtutem oratoris putem. Brut. 367.

Dolebam, Patres conſcripti,—illo æmulo atque imitatore ſtudiorum meorum, quaſi quodam ſocio a me & comite diſtracto—quis enim eſt illo aut nobilitate, aut probitate, aut optimarum artium ſtudio, aut innocentia, aut ullo genere laudis præſtantior?—pro Marcel. 1.

Noſtri enim ſenſus, ut in pace ſemper, ſic tum etiam in bello congruebant. Ib. 6.

Qui hoc tempore ipſo—in hoc communi noſtro & quaſi fatali malo, conſoletur, ſecum conſcientia optimæ mentis, tum etiam uſurpatione ac renovatione doctrinæ. Vidi enim Mitylenis nuper virum, atque ut dixi, vidi plane virum. Itaque cum eum antea tui ſimilem in dicendo viderim; tum vero nunc doctiſſimo viro, tibique ut intellexi amiciſſimo Cratippo, inſtructum omni copia, multo videbam ſimiliorem. Brut. ibid. vid. Senec. Conſolat. ad Helv. p. 79.

(*q*) Vid. Pigh. Annal. A. U. 691.

Cicero's

Cicero's conjecture was, *that Magius, oppreſſed with debts, and apprehending ſome trouble on that ſcore at his return, had been urging Marcellus, who was his ſponſor for ſome part of them, to furniſh him with money to pay the whole; and by receiving a denial, was provoked to the madneſs of killing his Patron* [r]. Others aſſign a different reaſon, *as the rage of jealouſy, and the impatience of ſeeing others more favored by Marcellus, than himſelf* [s].

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator III. M ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS Mag. Equit.

As ſoon as the news reached Rome, it raiſed a general conſternation: and from the ſuſpicious nature of the times, all people's thoughts were preſently turned on Cæſar, as if he were privately the contriver of it; and from the wretched fate of ſo illuſtrious a Citizen, every man began to think himſelf in danger: Cicero was greatly ſhocked at it, and ſeemed to conſider it, as the prelude of ſome greater evil to enſue; and Atticus ſignifying his concern upon it, adviſes him to take a more particular care of himſelf, *as being the onely conſular Senator left*, who ſtood expoſed to any envy [t]. But Cæſar's friends ſoon cleared him of all ſuſpicion; as indeed the fact itſelf did, when the circumſtances came to be known, and fixt the whole guilt of it on the fury of Magius.

[r] Quanquam nihil habeo quod dubitem, niſi ipſi Magio quæ fuerit cauſa amentiæ. Pro quo quidem etiam ſponſor Sunii factus eſt. Nimirum id fuit. Solvendo enim non erat. Credo eum a Marcello petiiſſe aliquid, & illum, ut erat, conſtantius reſpondiſſe. Ad Att. 13. 10.

[s] Indignatus aliquem amicorum ab eo ſibi præferri. Val. Max. 9. 11.

[t] Minime miror te & graviter ferre de Marcello, & plura vereri periculi genera. Quis enim hoc timeret, quod neque acciderat antea, nec videbatur natura ferre ut accidere poſſet. Omnia igitur metuenda, &c. Ad Att. 13. 10.

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS Mag. Equit.

THERE appeared at this time a bold Impoſtor, who began to make a great noiſe and figure in Italy, by aſſuming the name, and pretending to be *the Grandſon of Caius Marius:* but apprehending that Cæſar would ſoon put an end to his pretenſions, and treat him as he deſerved, he ſent a pathetic Letter to Cicero, by ſome young fellows of his company, to juſtify his claim and deſcent, and to implore his protection againſt the enemies of his family; *conjuring him, by their relation; by the poem, which he had formerly written in praiſe of Marius; by the eloquence of L. Craſſus, his mother's Father, whom he had likewiſe celebrated, that he would undertake the defence of his cauſe:* Cicero anſwered him very gravely, *that he could not want a Patron, when his Kinſman Cæſar, ſo excellent and generous a man, was now the Maſter of all; yet that he alſo ſhould be ready to favor him* [*u*]. But Cæſar, at his return, knowing him to be a cheat, baniſhed him out of Italy; ſince inſtead of being, what he pretended to be, he was found to be onely *a Farrier*, whoſe true name was Herophilus [*x*].

ARIARATHES the Brother and preſumptive heir of Ariobarzanes, *King of Cappadocia*, came

[*u*] Heri—quidam Urbani, ut videbantur, ad me mandata & litteras attulerunt, a C. Mario, C. F. C. N. multis verbis agere mecum per cognationem, quæ mihi ſecum eſſet, per eum Marium, quem ſcripſiſſem, per eloquentiam L. Craſſi avi ſui, ut ſe defenderem—reſcripſi nihil ei Patrono opus eſſe, quoniam Cæſaris, propinqui ejus, omnis poteſtas eſſet, viri optimi & hominis liberaliſſimi; me tamen ei futurum—ad Att. 12. 49.

[*x*] Herophilus Equarius medicus, C. Marium ſepties Conſulem avum ſibi vendicandō, ita ſe extulit, ut coloniæ veteranorum complures & municipia ſplendida, collegiaque fere omnia patronum adoptarent—cæterum decreto Cæſaris extra Italiam relegatus, &c. Val. Max. 9. 15.

to

to Rome this year; and as Cicero had a particular friendſhip with his family, and, when Conſul, had, by a decree of the Senate, conferred upon his Father the honor of *the Regal Title*, he thought proper to ſend a ſervant to meet him on the road, *and invite him to his houſe:* but he was already engaged by Seſtius, whoſe office it then was, to receive foreign Princes and Embaſſadors at the public expence; which Cicero was not diſpleaſed with in the preſent ſtate of his domeſtic affairs: *he comes*, ſays, he, *I gueſs to purchaſe ſome kingdom of Cæſar, for he has not at preſent a foot of land of his own* [y].

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS Mag. Equit.

CICERO's whole time during his ſolitude was employed in reading and writing: this was the buſineſs both of his days and nights: *it is incredible*, he ſays, *how much he wrote, and how little he ſlept: and if he had not fallen into that way of ſpending his time, he ſhould not have known what to do with himſelf* [z]. His ſtudies were chiefly Philoſophical, which he had been fond of from his youth, and, after a long intermiſſion, now reſumed with great ardor; having taking a reſolution, to explane to his Countrymen in their own language whatever the Greeks had taught on every part of Philoſophy whether ſpeculative or

[y] Ariarathes Ariobarzani filius Romam venit. Vult, opinor, regnum aliquod emere a Cæſare: nam, quo modo nunc eſt, pedem ubi ponat in ſuo non habet. Omnino eum Seſtius noſter parochus publicus occupavit: quod quidem facile patior. Verumtamen quod mihi ſummo beneficio meo, magna cum fratribus illius neceſſitudo eſt, invito eum per litteras, ut apud me diverſetur. Ad Att. 13. 2.

[z] Credibile non eſt, quantum ſcribam die, quin etiam noctibus. Nihil enim ſomni. Ib. 26.

Niſi mihi hoc veniſſet in mentem, ſcribere iſta neſcio quæ, quo verterem me non haberem. Ib. 10.

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS Mag. Equit.

practical: "For being driven, as he tells us, "from the public adminiſtration, he knew no "way ſo effectual of doing good, as by inſtruct- "ing the minds, and reforming the morals of "the youth; which, in the licence of thoſe "times, wanted every help to reſtrain and cor- "rect them. The calamity of the City, *ſays he*, "made this taſk neceſſary to me: ſince, in the "confuſion of civil arms, I could neither de- "fend it after my old way; nor, when it was "impoſſible for me to be idle, could I find any "thing better, on which to employ myſelf. My "Citizens therefore will pardon, or rather thank "me; that when the government was fallen into "the power of a ſingle perſon, I neither wholly "hid, nor afflicted myſelf unneceſſarily; nor "acted in ſuch a manner, as to ſeem angry at "the man, or the times; nor yet flattered or "admired the fortune of another ſo, as to be "diſpleaſed with my own. For I had learnt "from Plato and Philoſophy, that theſe turns "and revolutions of ſtates are natural; ſome- "times into the hands of *a few*, ſometimes of "*the many*, ſometimes *of one*: as this was the "caſe of our own Republic, ſo when I was de- "prived of my former poſt in it, I betook my- "ſelf to theſe ſtudies, in order to relieve my "mind from the ſenſe of our common miſeries, "and to ſerve my country at the ſame time in the "beſt manner that I was able: for my books "ſupplied the place of my votes in the Senate; "and of my ſpeches to the people; and I took "up philoſophy, as a ſubſtitute for my manage- "ment of the ſtate [*a*]."

[*a*] Divin. 2. 2.—de Fin. 1. 3.

HE

HE now publiſhed therefore, in the way of dialogue, a book, which he called Hortenſius, in honor of his deceaſed friend: where in a debate of learning he did, what he had often done in conteſts of the Bar, *undertake the defence of Philoſophy againſt Hortenſius, to whom he aſſigned the part of arraigning it* [*b*]. It was the reading of this book, long ſince unfortunately loſt, which firſt inflamed St. Auſtin, as he himſelf ſomewhere declares, *to the ſtudy of the Chriſtian Philoſophy:* and if it had yielded no other fruit, yet happy it was to the world, that it once ſubſiſted, to be the inſtrument of raiſing up ſo illuſtrious a convert and champion to *the Church of Chriſt* [*c*]. A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS Mag. Equit.

HE drew up alſo about this time *in four books*, a particular account and defence *of the Philoſophy of the Academy*; the ſect, which he himſelf followed; being, as he ſays, *of all others, the moſt conſiſtent with itſelf, and the leaſt arrogant, as well as moſt elegant* [*d*]. He had before publiſhed a work on the ſame ſubject in two books; the

[*b*] Cohortati ſumus, ut maxime potuimus, ad Philoſophiæ ſtudium eo libro. qui eſt inſcriptus, Hortenſius— de Div. 2. 1.

Nos autem univerſæ Philoſophiæ vituperatoribus reſpondimus in Hortenſio. Tuſ. Diſp. 2. 2.

[*c*] It is certain that *all the Latin Fathers* made great uſe of *Cicero's writings*; and eſpecially Jerom, who was not ſo grateful as Auſtin, in acknowledging the benefit; for, having conceived ſome ſcruples on that ſcore in his declining age, he endeavoured to diſcourage his diſciples from reading them at all; and declared, *that he had not taken either Cicero or Maro, or any heathen writer into his hands for above fifteen years:* for which his adverſary Ruſſinus rallies him very ſeverely. Vid. Hieron. Op. Tom. 4. par. 2 p. 414. it. par. 1. p. 288. Edit. Benedict —

[*d*] Quod genus philoſophandi minime arrogans, maximeque & conſtans, & elegans arbitraremur, quatuor Academicis libris oſtendimus. De Divin. 2. 1.

one

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS Mag. Equit.

one called Catulus, the other Lucullus, but conſidering *that the argument was not ſuited to the characters of the ſpeakers*; who were not particularly remarkable for any ſtudy of that ſort, he was thinking to change them to Cato and Brutus: when Atticus happening to ſignify to him, that *Varro had expreſſed a deſire to be inſerted in ſome of his writings*, he preſently reformed his ſcheme, and enlarged it into *four Books*, which he addreſſed to Varro; taking upon himſelf *the part of Philo, of defending the Principles of the Academy*; and aſſigning to *Varro that of Antiochus*; of oppoſing and confuting them; and introducing Atticus as the moderator of the diſpute. He finiſhed the whole with great accuracy; ſo as to make it a preſent worthy of Varro; *and if he was not deceived*, he ſays, *by a partiality and ſelf-love too common in ſuch caſes, there was nothing on the ſubject equal to it, even among the Greeks* [e]. All theſe four books, excepting part of the firſt, are now loſt; whilſt the ſecond book of the firſt edition, which he took ſome pains to ſuppreſs, remains ſtill intire, under it's original Title of Lucullus.

HE publiſhed likewiſe this year one of the nobleſt of his works, and on the nobleſt ſubject in Philoſophy, his treatiſe called, *de Finibus, or of the chief good and ill of man*; written *in Ariſtotle's*

[e] Ergo illam Ἀκαδημικὴν, in qua homines, nobiles illi quidam, ſed nullo modo philologi, nimis acute loquuntur, ad Varronem tranſferamus—Catulo & Lucullo alibi reponemus.—Ad Att. 13. 12.

Quod ad me de Varrone ſcripſeras, totam Academiam ab hominibus nobiliſſimis abſtuli; tranſtuli ad noſtrum ſodalem, & ex duobus libris contuli in quatuor—libri quidem ita exierunt. (niſi me forte communis φιλαυτία decipit) ut in tali genere ne apud Græcos quidem quicquam ſimile. Ib. 13. vide it. ib. 16, 19.

manner;

manner [*f*]; in which he explaned with great elegance and perſpicuity, the ſeveral opinions of all the ancient ſects on that moſt important queſtion. *It is there inquired,* he tells us, *what is the chief end, to which all the views of life ought to be referred, in order to make it happy: or what it is, which nature purſues as the ſupreme good, and ſhuns as the worſt of ills* [*g*]. The work conſiſts of five books: in the two firſt, *the Epicurean doctrine* is largely opened and diſcuſſed; being defended by Torquatus, and confuted by Cicero, in a conference ſuppoſed to be held in his *Cuman Villa,* in the preſence of Triarius, a young Gentleman, who came with Torquatus to viſit him. The two next explane *the doctrine of the Stoics,* aſſerted by Cato, and oppoſed by Cicero, in a friendly debate, upon their meeting accidentally in *Lucullus's Library.* The fifth contains the opinons *of the old Academy, or the Peripateticks,* explaned by Piſo, in a third dialogue, ſuppoſed to be held at Athens, in the preſence of *Cicero, his Brother Quintus, Couſin Lucius, and Atticus.* The Critics have obſerved ſome impropriety in this laſt book; in making *Piſo refer to the other two dialogues,* of which he had no ſhare, and could not be preſumed to have any knowledge [*h*]. But if any inaccuracy of that kind be really found in this, or any other of his

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS Mag. Equit.

[*f*] Quæ autem his temporibus ſcripſi. Ἀριστοτέλειον morem habent—ita confeci quinque libros περὶ τελῶν—ib. 19.

[*g*] Tum id, quod his libris quæritur, quid ſit finis, quid extremum, quid ultimum, quo ſint omnia bene vivendi, rectèque faciendi conſilia referenda. Quid ſequatur natura, ut ſummum ex rebus expetendis; quid fugiat ut extremum malorum. De Fin. 1. 4.

[*h*] Vid. Præfat. Davis in Lib. de finib.

works,

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS Mag. Equit.

works, it may reaſonably be excuſed by that multiplicity of affairs, which ſcarce allowed him time to write, much leſs to reviſe what he wrote: and in dialogues of length compoſed by piece-meal, and in the ſhort intervals of leiſure, it cannot ſeem ſtrange that he ſhould ſometimes forget his artificial, to reſume his proper character; and enter inadvertently into a part, which he had aſſigned to another. He addreſſed this work to Brutus, in return for a preſent of the ſame kind, which Brutus had ſent to him a little before, *a treatiſe upon virtue* [*i*].

NOT long after he had finiſhed this work, he publiſhed another of equal gravity, called his *Tuſculan Diſputations*; in five books alſo, upon as many different queſtions in Philoſophy, the moſt important and uſeful to the happineſs of human life. The firſt teaches us, *how to contemn the terrors of death, and to look upon it as a bleſſing, rather than an evil:* the ſecond, *to ſupport pain and affliction with a manly fortitude:* the third, *to appeaſe all our complaints and uneaſineſſes under the accidents of life:* the fourth, *to moderate all our other paſſions:* the fifth, *to evince the ſufficiency of virtue to make man happy.* It was his cuſtom, in the opportunities of his leiſure, to take ſome friends with him into the country; where inſtead, of amuſing themſelves with idle ſports or feaſts, their diverſions were wholly ſpeculative; tending to improve the mind, and enlarge the underſtanding. In this manner he now ſpent *five days at his Tuſculan Villa*, in diſcuſſing with his friends the ſeveral queſtions juſt mentioned: for after employing the mornings in declaming and rhetorical exerciſes, they uſed to retire in the after-

(*i*) De Finib. I. 3.

noon

noon into a Gallery, called the *Academy*, which he had built for the purpoſe of Philoſophical conferences: where, after the manner of the Greeks, he held *a School*, as they called it, and invited the company to call for any ſubject, that they deſired to hear explaned; which being propoſed accordingly by ſome of the audience, became immediately the argument of that day's debate. Theſe five conferences or dialogues he collected afterwards into writing, *in the very words and manner in which they really paſſed*, and publiſhed them under the title of his *Tuſculan Diſputations*, from the name of the Villa, in which they were held [*k*].

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS Mag. Equit.

HE wrote alſo a little piece, in the way of *a Funeral Encomium, in praiſe of Porcia; the ſiſter of Cato, and wife of Domitius Ahenobarbus*, Cæſar's mortal enemy; which ſhews how little he was ſtill diſpoſed to court the times. Varro and Lollius attempted the ſame ſubject; and *Cicero deſires Atticus to ſend him their compoſitions:* but all the three are now loſt: though Cicero took the pains to reviſe and correct his; and ſent copies of it afterwards *to Domitius the Son, and Brutus, the Nephew of that Porcia* [*l*].

[*k*] In Tuſculano, cum eſſent complures mecum Familiares — ponere jubebam, de quo quis audire vellet; ad id aut ſedens aut ambulans diſputabam. Itaque dierum quinque Scholas, ut Græci appellant, in totidem libros contuli. Tuſc. Diſp. 1. 4.

Itaque cum ante meridiem dictioni operam dediſſemus — poſt meridiem in *Academiam* deſcendimus: in qua diſputationem habitam non quaſi narrantes exponimus, ſed eiſdem fere verbis ut actum diſputatumque eſt. Ib. 2. 3. 3 3.

[*l*] Laudationem Porciæ tibi miſi correctam: ac eo properavi; ut ſi forte aut Domitio filio aut Bruto mitteretur, hæc mitteretur. Id ſi tibi erit commodum, magnopere cures velim; & velim M. Varronis, Lolliique mittas laudationem. Ad Att. 13. 48. it. ib. 37.

CÆSAR

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS Mag. Equit.

CÆSAR continued all this while in Spain, purſuing *the Sons of Pompey*, and providing for the future peace and ſettlement of the Province; whence he paid Cicero the compliment of ſending him an account of his ſucceſs with his own hand. Hirtius alſo gave him early intelligence *of the defeat and flight of the two Brothers*; which was not diſagreeable to him: for though he was not much concerned about the event of the war, and expected no good from it on either ſide, yet the opinion, which he had conceived of the fierceneſs and violence *of the young Pompeys*, eſpecially of *the elder* of them, Cnæus, engaged his wiſhes rather for Cæſar. In a Letter to Atticus, Hirtius, ſays he, *wrote me word, that Sextus Pompey had withdrawn himſelf from Corduba into the hither Spain; and that Cnæus too was fled, I know not whither; nor in truth do I care* [*m*]: and this indeed ſeems to have been the common ſentiment of all the Republicans: as Caſſius himſelf, writing to Cicero on the ſame ſubject, declares ſtill more explicitely; "May I periſh, *ſays he*, if I "be not ſollicitous about the event of things in "Spain; and would rather keep our old and cle- "ment maſter, than try a new and cruel one. "You know what a fool Cnæus is; how he *takes* "*cruelty for a virtue*: how he has always thought, "that we laughed at him; I am afraid leſt he "ſhould take it into his head to repay our jokes "in his ruſtic manner with the ſword [*n*]."

YOUNG

[*m*] Hirtius ad me ſcripſit, Sex. Pompeium Corduba exiſſe, & fugiſſe in Hiſpaniam citeriorum; Cnæum fugiſſe neſcio quo, neque enim curo. Ad Att. 12. 37.

[*n*] Peream, niſi ſollicitus ſum; ac malo veterem ac clementem dominum habere, quam novum & crudelem experiri. Scis, Cnæus quam ſit fatuus; ſcis quomodo crudelitatem virtutem putet; ſcis, quam ſe ſemper a nobis deriſum putet

Vereor,

YOUNG Quintus Cicero, who made the campaign along with Cæſar, thinking to pleaſe his company, and to make his fortunes the better among them, began to play over his old game, and to abuſe his uncle again in all places. Cicero, in his account of it to Atticus, ſays, "there is "nothing new, but that Hirtius has been "quarrelling in my defence, with our Nephew "Quintus, who takes all occaſions of ſaying "every thing bad of me, and eſpecially at pub-"lic feaſts; and when he has done with me, "falls next upon his father: he is thought to "ſay nothing ſo credible, as *that we are both ir-*"*reconcilable to Cæſar*; *that Cæſar ſhould truſt* "*neither of us*; *and even beware of me:* this "would be terrible; did I not ſee, that our King "is perſuaded that I have no ſpirit left [*o*]."

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS Mag. Equit.

ATTICUS was always endeavouring to moderate Cicero's *impatience* under the preſent government, and perſuading him, to comply more chearfully with the times; nor to reject the friendſhip of Cæſar, which was ſo forwardly offered to him: and upon his frequent complaints of the ſlavery and indignity of his preſent condition, he took occaſion to obſerve, that Cicero could not but own to be true, *that if to pay a particular court and obſervance to a man, was the mark of ſlavery, thoſe in power ſeemed to be ſlaves rather*

Vereor, ne nos ruſtice gladio velit ἀνλιμυκλησίσαι. Ep. Fam. 15. 19.

[*o*] Novi ſane nihil, niſi Hirtium cum Quinto acerrime pro me litigaſſe; omnibus eum locis facere, maximeque in conviviis; cum multa de me, tum redire ad Patrem: nihil autem ab eo tam ἀξιοπίςως dici, quam alieniſſimos nos eſſe a Cæſare; fidem nobis habendam non eſſe; me vero cavendum. φοβερὸν ἦν, niſi viderem ſcire Regem, me animi nihil habere—Ad Att. 13. 37.

to

A. Urb. 70°. Cic. 62. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS Mag. Equit.

to him than he to them [*p*]. With the ſame view he was now preſſing him, among his other works, to think of ſomething to be addreſſed to Cæſar: but Cicero had no appetite to this taſk; he ſaw how difficult it would be to perform it without leſſening his character, and deſcending to flattery; yet being urged to it alſo by other friends, he drew up a Letter, which was communicated to Hirtius and Galbus for their judgement upon it, whether it was proper to be ſent to Cæſar. The ſubject ſeems to have been ſome advice, about reſtoring the peace and liberty of the Republic; and to diſſuade him from *the Parthian war*, which he intended for his next expedition, till he had finiſhed the more neceſſary work of ſettling the ſtate of things at home: *there was nothing in it*, he ſays, *but what might come from the beſt of Citizens.* It was drawn however with ſo much freedom, that though Atticus ſeemed pleaſed with it, yet the other two durſt not adviſe the ſending it, unleſs ſome paſſages were altered and ſoftened; which diſguſted Cicero ſo much, that he reſolved not to write at all; and when Atticus was ſtill urging him to be more complaiſant, he anſwered with great ſpirit in two or three Letters [*q*].

[*p*] Et ſi mehercule, ut tu intelligis, magis mihi iſti ſerviunt, ſi obſervare ſervire eſt. Ad Att. 13. 49.

[*q*] Epiſtolam ad Cæſarem mitti video tibi placere—mihi quidem hoc idem maxime placuit, & eo magis, quod nihil eſt in ea niſi optimi civis; ſed ita optimi, ut tempora, quibus parere omnes πολιτικοὶ præcipiunt. Sed ſcis ita nobis eſſe viſum, ut iſti ante legerent. Tu igitur id curabis. Sed niſi plane intelliges iis placere, mittenda non eſt. Ad Att. 12. 51.

De Epiſtola ad Cæſarem, κέκριμαι. Atque id ipſum, quod iſti aiunt illum ſcribere, ſe, niſi conſtitutis rebus, non iturum in Parthos, idem ego ſuadebam in illa epiſtola—ib. 13. 31.

"As

" As for the Letter to Cæſar, *ſays he*, I " was always very willing, that they ſhould firſt " read it: for otherwiſe I had both been want- " ing in civility to them; and if I had happened " to give offence, expoſed myſelf alſo to dan- " ger. They have dealt ingenuouſly and kindly " with me, in not concealing what they " thought: but what pleaſes me the moſt is; " that by requiring ſo many alterations, they give " me an excuſe for not writing at all. As to the " Parthian war, what had I to conſider about " it, but that which I thought would pleaſe him; " for what ſubject was there elſe for a Letter, " but flattery? or if I had a mind to adviſe, what " I really took to be the beſt, could I have been " at a loſs for words? there is no occaſion there- " fore for any Letter: for where there is no " great matter to be gained, and a ſlip, though " not great, may make us uneaſy, what reaſon " is there to run any riſk? eſpecially, when it is " natural for him to think, that as I wrote no- " thing to him before, ſo I ſhould have written " nothing now, had not the war been wholly " ended: beſides, I am afraid leſt he ſhould " imagine, that I ſent this as a ſweetner for " my Cato: in ſhort, I was heartily aſhamed of " what I had written; and nothing could " fall out more luckily, than that it did not " pleaſe [*r*]."

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS Mag. Equit.

AGAIN; " As for writing to Cæſar, I ſwear " to you, I cannot do it: nor is it yet the ſhame " of it that deters me, which ought to do it the " moſt; for how mean would it be to flatter, " when even to live is baſe in me? but it is not, " as I was ſaying, this ſhame, which hinders

[*r*] Ad. Att. 13. 27.

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS Mag. Equit.

" me, though I wiſh it did; for I ſhould then " be, what I ought to be; but I can think of " nothing to write upon. As to thoſe exhorta- " tions, addreſſed to Alexander, by the eloquent " and the learned of that time, you ſee on what " points they turn: they are addreſſed to a youth, " inflamed with the thirſt of true glory, and de- " ſiring to be adviſed how to acquire it. On an " occaſion of ſuch dignity, words can never be " wanting; but what can I do on my ſubject? " Yet I had ſcratched, as it were, out of the " block ſome faint reſemblance of an image: " but becauſe there were ſome things hinted in " it, a little better than what we ſee done " every day, it was diſliked. I am not at all ſor- " ry for it; for had the Letter gone, take my " word for it, I ſhould have had cauſe to re- " pent. For do you not ſee that very ſcholar " of Ariſtotle, a youth of the greateſt parts, and " the greateſt modeſty, after he came to be call- " ed a king, grow proud, cruel, extravagant? " Do you imagine, that this man, ranked in the " proceſſions of the Gods, and inſhrined in the " ſame Temple with Romulus, will be pleaſed " with the moderate ſtile of my Letters? It is " better that he be diſguſted at my not writing, " than at what I write: in a word, let him do " what he pleaſes; for that problem, which I " once propoſed to you, and thought ſo difficult, " *in what way I ſhall manage him*, is over with " me: and, in truth, I now wiſh more to feel " the effect of his reſentment, be it what it will, " than I was before afraid of it [*s*]." " I beg of " you therefore, ſays he, in another Letter, let " us have no more of this; but ſhew ourſelves

[*s*] Ad Att. 13. 28.

" at

" at leaſt *half free*, by our ſilence and re- A. Urb. 708.
" treat [*t*]." Cic. 62.
Coſſ.
C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator III.
M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS Mag. Equit.

FROM this little fact, one cannot help reflecting on *the fatal effects of arbitrary power*, upon the ſtudies and compoſitions of men of genius, and on the reſtraint, that it neceſſarily lays on the free courſe of good ſenſe and truth among men. It had yet ſcarce ſhewn itſelf in Rome, when we ſee one of the greateſt men, as well as the greateſt wits which that Republic ever bred, embarraſſed in the choice of a ſubject to write upon; and for fear of offending, chuſing not to write at all: and it was the ſame power, which, from this beginning, gradually debaſed the purity both of the Roman wit and language, from the perfection of elegance, to which Cicero had advanced them, to that ſtate of rudeneſs and barbariſm which we find in the productions of the lower Empire.

THIS was the preſent ſtate of things between Cæſar and Cicero; all the marks of kindneſs on Cæſar's part; of coldneſs and reſerve on Cicero's. Cæſar was determined never to part with his power, and took the more pains, for that reaſon, to make Cicero eaſy under it: he ſeems indeed to have been ſomewhat afraid of him; not of his engaging in any attempt againſt his life; but leſt by his inſinuations, his railleries, and his authority, he ſhould excite others to ſome act of violence: but what he more eſpecially deſired and wanted, was to draw from him ſome public teſtimony of his approbation; and to be recommend by his writings to the favor of poſterity,

[*t*] Obſecro, abjiciamus, mus: quod aſſequemur & tacendo, & latendo—ib. 31.
ſimiliberi ſaltem ſi-

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator III M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS Mag. Equit.

CICERO on the other hand, perceiving no ſtep taken towards the eſtabliſhment of the Republic, but more and more reaſon every day to deſpair of it, grew ſtill more indifferent to every thing elſe: the reſtoration of public liberty was the onely condition, on which he could entertain any friendſhip with Cæſar, or think and ſpeak of him with any reſpect: without that, no favors could oblige him; ſince to receive them from a maſter, was an affront to his former dignity, and but a ſplendid badge of ſervitude: books therefore were his onely comfort; for while he converſed with them, he found himſelf eaſy, and fancied himſelf free. —Thus in a Letter to Caſſius, touching upon the miſery of the times, he adds, "What is be-"come then, you'll ſay, of Philoſophy? Why, "yours is in the kitchen; but mine is trouble-"ſome to me: for I am aſhamed to live a ſlave; "and feign myſelf therefore to be doing ſome-"thing elſe, that I may not hear the reproach "of Plato [*u*]."

DURING Cæſar's ſtay in Spain, Antony ſet forward from Italy, to pay his compliments to him there, or to meet him at leaſt on the road in his return towards home: but when he had made about half of the journey, he met with ſome diſpatches, which obliged him to turn back in all haſt to Rome. This raiſed a new alarm in the city; and eſpecially among the Pompeians, who were afraid, that Cæſar, having now ſubdued all oppoſition, was reſolved, after the example of former Conquerors, to take his revenge in cool blood on all his adverſaries; and had ſent

[*u*] Ubi igitur, inquies, Philoſophia? Tua quidem in culina; mea moleſta eſt. Pudet enim ſervire. Itaque facio me alias res agere, ne convicium Platonis audiam. Ep. Fam. 15. 18.

Antony back, as the propereſt inſtrument to execute ſome orders of that ſort. Cicero himſelf had the ſame ſuſpicion, and was much ſurprized at Antony's *ſudden return*; till Balbus and Oppius eaſed him of his apprehenſions, by ſending him *an account of the true reaſon of it* [x]: which, contrary to expectation, gave no uneaſineſs at laſt to any body, but to Antony himſelf. Antony had bought *Pompey's Houſes in Rome* and the neighbourhood, with all their rich furniture, *at Cæſar's auction*, ſoon after his return from Ægypt; but truſting to his intereſt with Cæſar, and to the part, which he had born in advancing him to his power, never dreamt of being obliged to pay for them; but Cæſar, being diſguſted by the account of his debauches, and extravagancies in Italy, and reſolved to ſhew himſelf the ſole maſter, nor ſuffer any contradiction to his will, ſent peremptory orders to L. Plancus, the Prætor, to require immediate payment of Antony, or elſe to levy the money upon his ſureties, according to the tenor of the bond. This was the cauſe of his quick return, to prevent that diſgrace from falling upon him, and find ſome means of complying with Cæſar's commands: it provoked him however to ſuch a degree, that in the heigth of his reſentment, he is ſaid to have entered into a deſign *of taking away Cæſar's life*; of which Cæſar himſelf complained openly in the Senate [y].

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS Mag. Equit.

[x] Heri cum ex aliorum litteris cognoviſſem de Antonii adventu, admiratus ſum nihil eſſe in tuis. Ad Att. 12. 18.

De Antonio Balbus quoque ad me cum Oppio conſcripſit, idque tibi placuiſſe, ne perturbarer. Illis egi gratias. —ib. 19.

[y] Appellatus es de pecunia, quam pro domo, pro hortis, pro ſectione debebas.— & ad te & ad prædes tuos militeſ

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator III. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS Mag. Equit.

THE war being ended in Spain by *the death of Cnæus Pompey, and the flight of Sextus*, Cæſar finiſhed his anſwer to Cicero's *Cato in two books*, which he ſent immediately to Rome, in order to be publiſhed. This gave Cicero at laſt the argument of a Letter, to him, to return thanks for the great civility with which he had treated him in that piece; and to pay his compliments likewiſe in his turn, upon the elegance of the compoſition. This Letter was communicated again to Balbus and Oppius, who declared themſelves extremely pleaſed with it, and forwarded it directly to Cæſar. In Cicero's account of it to Atticus, "I forgot, ſays he, to ſend you a copy of what "I wrote to Cæſar: not for the reaſon, which "you ſuſpect, that I was aſhamed to let you ſee, "how well I could flatter: for in truth, I wrote "to him no otherwiſe, than as if I was writing "to an equal; for I really have a good opinion "of his two books, as I told you, when we "were together; and wrote therefore both without flattering him; and yet ſo, that he will "read nothing, I believe, with more pleaſure [z]."

CÆSAR

lites miſit——[Phil. 2. 29.] Idcirco urbem terrore nocturno, Italiam multorum dierum metu perturbaſti—ne L. Plancus prædes tuos venderet—[ib. 31.] Quin his ipſis temporibus domi Cæſaris percuſſor ab iſto miſſus, deprehenſus dicebatur eſſe cum ſica. De quo Cæſar in Senatu aperte in te invehens, queſtus eſt—ib. 29.

[z] Conſcripſi de his libris epiſtolam Cæſari, quæ deferretur ad Dolabellam: ſed ejus exemplum miſi ad Balbum & Oppium, ſcripſique ad eos, ut tum deferri ad Dolabellam juberent meas litteras, ſi ipſi exemplum probaſſent; ita mihi reſcripſerunt, nihil unquam ſe legiſſe melius. Ad Att. 13. 50.

Ad Cæſarem quam miſi epiſtolam, ejus exemplum fugit me tum tibi mittere; nec id fuit quod ſuſpicaris, ut me puderet tui—nec mehercule ſcripſi,

CÆSAR returned to Rome about *the end of September*; when diveſting himſelf of the Conſulſhip, he conferred it on *Q. Fabius Maximus, and C. Trebonius, for the three remaining months of the year* [*a*]. His firſt care, after his arrival, was to entertain the City with *the moſt ſplendid triumph* which Rome had ever ſeen: but the people inſtead of admiring and applauding it, as he expected, were ſullen and ſilent; conſidering it, as it really was, a triumph over themſelves: purchaſed by the loſs of their liberty, and the deſtruction of the beſt and nobleſt families of the Republic. They had before given the ſame proof of their diſcontent *at the Circenſian games*; where *Cæſar's ſtatue*, by a decree of the Senate, *was carried in the proceſſion, along with thoſe of the Gods:* for they gave none of their uſual acclamations to *the favourite Deities*, as they paſſed, *leſt they ſhould be thought to give them to Cæſar.* Atticus ſent an account of it to Cicero, who ſays in anſwer to him, *Your Letter was agreeable, though the ſhew was ſo ſad— the people however behaved bravely, who would not clap even the Goddeſs Victory for the ſake of ſo bad a neighbour* [*b*]. Cæſar however to make amends for the unpopularity of his triumph, and to put the people into good humor, entertained the whole City ſoon after with ſomething more ſubſtantial than ſhews; *two*

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. Coſſ. Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS, C. TREBONIUS.

ſcripſi, aliter ac ſi πρὸς ἴσον ἢ μοιονque ſcriberem. Bene enim exiſtimo de illis libris, ut tibi coram. Itaque ſcripſi & ἀκολαστεύτως, & tamen ſic, ut nihil eum exiſtimem lecturum libentius. Ib. 51.

[*a*] Utroque anno binos Conſules ſubſtituit ſibi in ternos noviſſimos menſes. Suet. J. Cæſ. 76.

[*b*] Suaves tuas litteras! etſi acerba pompa—populum vero præclarum, quod propter tam malum vicinum, ne Victoriæ quidem ploditur. Ad Att. 13. 44.

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public dinners, with plenty of *the moſt eſteemed and coſtly wines, of Chios and Falernum* [c].

SOON after Cæſar's triumph, *the Conſul Fabius*, one of his Lieutenants in Spain, was allowed to *triumph* too for the reduction of ſome parts of that province, which had revolted; but the magnificence of Cæſar made Fabius's triumph appear contemptible; *for his models of the conquered Towns*, which were always a part of the ſhew, being made onely *of wood*, when Cæſar's *were of Silver or Ivory*, Chryſippus merrily called them, *the caſes onely of Cæſar's Towns* [d].

CICERO reſided generally in the Country, and withdrew himſelf wholly from the Senate [e]: but on Cæſar's approach towards Rome, Lepidus began to preſs him by repeated Letters, to come and give them his aſſiſtance; aſſuring him, *that both he and Cæſar would take it very kindly of him.* He could not gueſs, for what particular ſervice they wanted him, except *the dedication of ſome Temple*, to which the preſence of *three Augurs* was neceſſary [f]. But whatever it was, as his friends had long been urging the ſame advice, and perſuading

[c] Quid non & Cæſar Dictator triumphi ſui cœna vini Falerni amphoras, Chii cados in convivia diſtribuit? idem in Hiſpanienſi triumpho Chium & Falernum dedit. Plin. Hiſt. 14. 15.

Adjecit poſt Hiſpanienſem victoriam duo prandia. Sueton. 38.

[d] Ut Chryſippus, cum in triumpho Cæſaris eborea oppida eſſent tranſlata, & poſt dies paucos Fabii Maximi lignea, thecas eſſe oppidorum Cæſaris dixit. Quintil. 6. 3. Dio. 234.

[e] Cum his temporibus non ſane in ſenatum ventitarem—Ep. Fam. 13. 77.

[f] Ecce tibi, orat Lepidus, ut veniam, Opinor Augures nil habere ad Templum effandum. Ad Att. 13. 42.

Lepidus ad me heri—litteras miſit. Rogat magnopere ut ſim Kalend. in Senatu, me & ſibi & Cæſari vehementer gratum eſſe facturum—ib. 47.

him

him to return to public affairs, he conſented at laſt, to quit his retirement and come to the City; where ſoon after Cæſar's arrival he had an opportunity of employing his authority and eloquence, where he exerted them always with the greateſt pleaſure, in the ſervice and defence of *an old friend, King Deiotarus.* A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. Coſſ. Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS, C. TREBONIUS.

THIS prince had already been deprived by Cæſar of part of his dominions, for his adherence to Pompey, and was now in danger of loſing the reſt, from an accuſation preferred againſt him by his Grandſon, of a deſign pretended to have been formed by *him againſt Cæſar's life*, when Cæſar was entertained at his houſe, four years before, on his return from Egypt. The charge was groundleſs and ridiculous; but under his preſent diſgrace, any charge was ſufficient to ruin him; and Cæſar's countenancing it ſo far, as to receive and hear it, ſhewed a ſtrong prejudice againſt the King; and that he wanted onely a pretence for ſtripping him of all that remained to him. Brutus likewiſe intereſted himſelf very warmly in the ſame cauſe; and when he went to meet Cæſar, on his road from Spain, *made an Oration to him at Nicæa, in favor of Deiotarus*, with a freedom which ſtartled Cæſar, and gave him occaſion to reflect on what he had not perceived ſo clearly before, the *invincible fierceneſs and vehemence of Brutus's temper* [g]. The preſent trial was held in Cæſar's *houſe*; where Cice-

[g] Ad Att. 14. 1. The Jeſuits, Catrou and Rouille, take Nicea, where Brutus made this ſpeech, to be *the Capital of Bithynia*, Deiotarus's kingdom: but it was a City on *the Ligurian coaſt*, ſtill called Nice, where Brutus met Cæſar on his laſt return from Spain, and when he was not able to prevail for Deiotarus, Cicero was forced to undertake the cauſe as ſoon as Cæſar came to Rome. Vid. Hiſt. Tom. 17. p. 91. not.

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ro ſo manifeſtly expoſed the malice of the accuſer, and the innocence of the accuſed, that Cæſar, being determined not to acquit, yet aſhamed to condem him, choſe the expedient of reſerving his ſentence to farther deliberation, till he ſhould go in perſon into the Eaſt, and inform himſelf of the whole affair upon the ſpot. Cicero ſays, *that Deiotarus, neither preſent nor abſent, could ever obtain any favor or equity from Cæſar: and that as oft as he pleaded for him, which he was always ready to do, he could never perſuade Cæſar to think any thing reaſonable that he aſked for him* [*h*]. He ſent a copy of his oration *to the King*; and, at Dolabella's requeſt, gave another likewiſe to him: excuſing it, as a trifling performance, and hardly worth tranſcribing; but I *had a mind*, ſays he, *to make a ſlight preſent to my old friend and hoſt, of coarſe ſtuff indeed, yet ſuch as his preſents uſually are to me* [*i*].

SOME little time after this trial, Cæſar, to ſhew his confidence in Cicero, invited himſelf to ſpend a day with him, at his houſe in the country; and choſe *the third day of the Saturnalia* for his viſit; a ſeaſon always dedicated to mirth and feaſting amongſt friends and relations [*k*]. Cicero gives

[*h*] Quis enim cuiquam inimicitior, quam Deiotaro Cæſar?—a quo nec præſens, nec abſens Rex Deiotarus quidquam æqui boni impetravit—ille nunquam, ſemper enim abſenti affui Deiotaro, quicquam ſibi, quod nos pro illo poſtularemus, æquum dixit videri. Philip. 2. 37.

[*i*] Oratiunculam pro Deiotaro, quam requirebas—— tibi miſi. Quam velim ſic legas, ut cauſam tenuem & inopem, nec ſcriptione magno opere dignam. Sed ego hoſpiti veteri & amico munuſculum mittere volui levidenſe, craſſo filo, cujuſmodi ipſius ſolent eſſe munera. Ep. Fam. 9. 12.

[*k*] This Feſtival, after Cæſar's reformation of the Kalendar, began on the 17th of December, and laſted three days. Macrob. Saturn. 1. x.

Atticus

Atticus the following account of the entertainment, and how the day paſſed between them: A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. Coſſ. Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS, C. TREBONIUS.

" O this gueſt, ſays he, whom I ſo much dread-
" ed! yet I had no reaſon to repent of him; for
" he was well pleaſed with his reception. When
" he came the evening before, on the eighteenth,
" to my neighbour Philip's, the houſe was ſo
" crouded with ſoldiers, that there was ſcarce a
" room left empty for Cæſar to ſup in: there
" were about two thouſand of them: which gave
" me no ſmall pain for the next day: but Barba
" Caſſius relieved me; for he aſſigned me a
" guard, and made the reſt encamp in the field:
" ſo that my houſe was clear. On the nine-
" teenth, he ſtaid at Philip's till one in the after-
" noon; but ſaw nobody; was ſettling accounts,
" I gueſs, with Balbus; then took a walk on
" the ſhore, bathed after two; heard the verſes
" on Mamurra [*l*]; at which he never changed

[*l*] Mamurra was a Roman Knight, and *General of the Artillery to Cæſar in Gaul*; where he raiſed an immenſe fortune, and is ſaid to have been the firſt man in Rome, who *incruſted his houſe with marble, and made all his pillars of ſolid marble*. [Plin. Hiſt. 36. 6.] He was ſeverely laſhed, together with Cæſar himſelf, for his exceſſive luxury, and more infamous vices, by Catullus; whoſe verſes are ſtill extant, and the ſame probably that Cicero here refers to, as being firſt read to Cæſar at his houſe. Vid. Catull. 27, 55.

The reader perhaps will not readily underſtand the time and manner of Cæſar's *paſſing from Philip's houſe to Cicero's* in this ſhort account of it: but it muſt be remembered, that their villa's were adjoining to each other on the Formian coaſt near Cajeta; ſo that when Cæſar came out of Philip's at one, he took a walk on the ſhore for about an hour, and then entered into Cicero's; where the bath was prepared for him, and in bathing he heard Catullus's verſes; not produced by Cicero, for that would not have been agreeable to good manners, but by ſome of his own friends, who attended him, and who knew his deſire to ſee every thing, that was publiſhed againſt him, as well as his eaſineſs in ſlighting or forgiving it.

" countenance

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" countenance; was rubbed, anointed, ſat down
" to table. Having taken a vomit juſt before
" he eat and drank freely, and was very chear-
" ful [*m*]: the Supper was good and well ſerved:

" But our diſcourſe at table, as we eat,
" For taſt and ſeaſoning ſtill excell'd our meat [*n*].

" Beſides Cæſar's table, his friends were plenti-
" fully provided for in three other rooms; nor
" was there any thing wanting to his freedmen
" of lower rank, and his ſlaves; but the better
" ſort were elegantly treated. In a word, I ac-
" quitted myſelf like a man: yet he is not a
" gueſt to whom one would ſay at parting,
" pray call upon me again, as you return: once

[*m*] The cuſtom of *taking a vomit* both immediately before and after meals, which Cicero mentions Cæſar to have done on different occaſions, [pro Deiot. 7.] was very common with the Romans, and uſed by them as an inſtrument both of their luxury, and of their health: *they vomit*, ſays Seneca, *that they may eat, and eat that they may vomit*. [Conſul. ad Helo. 9.] By this evacuation before eating, they were prepared to eat more plentifully; and by emptying themſelves preſently after it, prevented any hurt from repletion. Thus Vitellius, who was a famous glutton, *is ſaid to have preſerved his life by conſtant vomits*, while he deſtroyed all his companions, who did not uſe the ſame caution: [Sueton. 12. Dio. 65. 734.] And the practice was thought ſo effectual for ſtrenghtening the conſtitution, that it was the conſtant regimen of all the Athletæ, or the profeſſed Wreſtlers, trained for the public ſhews, in order to make them more robuſt. So that Cæſar's vomiting before dinner was a ſort of compliment to Cicero, as it intimated a reſolution to paſs the day chearfully, and to eat and drink freely with him.

[*n*] This is a citation from Lucilius, of an Hexameter verſe, with part of a ſecond, which is not diſtinguiſhed from the text, in the editions of Cicero's Letters.

ſed bene cocto et condito ſermone bono, & ſi quæris libenter.

" is

" is enough: we had not a word on buſineſs, A. Urb. 708.
" but many on points of literature: in ſhort, he Cic. 62.
" was delighted with his entertainment, and paſ- Coſſ.
" ſed the day agreeably. He talked of ſpend- Q. FABIUS
" ing one day at Puteoli; another at Baiæ: thus MAXIMUS,
" you ſee the manner of my receiving him; C. TREBO-
" ſomewhat troubleſome indeed, but not uneaſy NIUS.
" to me. I ſhall ſtay here a little longer, and
" then to Tuſculum. As he paſſed by Dolabel-
" la's villa, his troops marched cloſe by his
" horſe's ſide, on the right and left; which was
" done no where elſe. I had this from Nicias [*o*]."

ON the laſt of December, when *the Conſul Trebonius* was abroad, his Collegue Q. Fabius died ſuddenly; and his death being declared in the morning, C. Caninius Rebilus was named by Cæſar to the vacancy at one in the afternoon; whoſe office was to continue onely *through the remaining part of that day*. This wanton profanation of the ſovereign dignity of the Empire raiſed a general indignation in the City; and a Conſulate ſo ridiculous gave birth to much raillery, and many jokes which are tranſmitted to us by the ancients [*p*]; of which Cicero, who was the chief author of them, gives us the following ſpecimen, in his own account of the fact.

Cicero to Curius.

" I no longer either adviſe or deſire you to
" come home to us; but want to fly ſomewhi-
" ther myſelf, where I may hear neither the
" names nor the acts of theſe ſons of Pelops. It
" is incredible, how meanly I think of myſelf,

[*o*] Ad Att. 13. 52.
[*p*] Macrob. Saturn. 2. 3. Dio. p. 236.

" for

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. Coſſ. Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS, C. TREBONIUS.

" for being preſent at theſe tranſactions. You " had ſurely an early foreſight of what was com- " ing on, when you ran away from this place: " for though it be vexatious to hear of ſuch " things, yet that is more tolerable than to ſee " them. It is well, that you were not in the " field, when at ſeven in the morning, as they " were proceeding to an election of Quæſtors, " the Chair of Q. Maximus, whom they called " Conſul [q], was ſet in its place: but, his " death being immediately proclamed, it was " removed; and Cæſar, tho' he had taken the " auſpices for an aſſembly of the Tribes, " changed it to an aſſembly of the Centuries; " and, at one in the afternoon, declared a new " Conſul, who was to govern till one the next " morning. I would have you to know there- " fore, that whilſt Caninius was Conſul, *nobody* " *dined*; and that there was *no crime committed in* " *his Conſulſhip*, for he was ſo wonderfully *vigi-* " *lant*, that through his whole adminiſtration *he* " *never ſo much as ſlept*. Theſe things ſeem ri- " diculous to you, who were abſent, but were " you to ſee them, you would hardly refrain " from tears. What if I ſhould tell you the " reſt? For there are numberleſs facts of the " ſame kind; which I could never have born, " if I had not taken refuge in the port of Philo-

[q] Cicero would not allow *a Conſul of three months* ſo irregularly choſen, to be properly called a *Conſul*: nor did the people themſelves acknowledge him: for, as Suetonius tells us, [in J. Cæſ. 80.] when upon Fabius's entrance into the Theater, his Officers, according to cuſtom, proclamed his preſence, and ordered the people *to make way for the Conſul*; the whole aſſembly cried out, *he is no Conſul*.

" ſophy,

"ſophy, with our friend Atticus, the companion "and partner of my ſtudies, &c. [*r*]."

CÆSAR had ſo many creatures and dependents, who expected *the honor of the Conſulſhip* from him, as the reward of their ſervices, that it was impoſſible to oblige them all in the regular way, ſo that he was forced to contrive the expedient of ſplitting it, as it were, into parcels, and conferring it for *a few months, or weeks, or even days*, as it happened to ſuit his convenience; and as the thing itſelf was now but a name, without any real power, it was of little moment for what term it was granted; ſince the ſhorteſt gave the ſame privilege with the longeſt, and a man once declared Conſul, enjoyed ever after the rank and character of a conſular Senator [*s*].

ON the opening of the new year Cæſar entered into his *fifth Conſulſhip*, in partnerſhip with M. Antony: he had promiſed it all along to Dolabella, but, contrary to expectation, took it at laſt to himſelf. This was contrived by Antony, who, jealous of Dolabella, as, a rival in Cæſar's favor, had been ſuggeſting ſomewhat to his diſadvantage, and laboring to create a diffidence of him in Cæſar; which ſeems to have been the ground of what is mentioned above, *Cæſar's guarding himſelf ſo particularly, when he paſſed by his Villa.* Dolabella was ſenſibly touched with this affront, and, came full of indignation to the Senate; where, not daring to vent his ſpleen on Cæſar, he entertained the aſſembly with a ſevere ſpeech againſt Antony, which drew on many warm and angry words between them; till Cæſar, to end the diſpute, promiſed to reſign the Con-

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR V. M. ANTONIUS.

[*r*] Ep. Fam. 7. 30. [*s*] Vid. Dio. p. 240.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR V. M. ANTONIUS.

ſulſhip to Dolabella, before he went to *the Parthian war:* but *Antony proteſted, that by his authority as Augur, he would diſturb that election, whenever it ſhould be attempted* [*t*]; and declared, without any ſcruple, the ground of his quarrel with Dolabella was, *for having caught him in an attempt to debauch his wife Antonia,* the daughter of his uncle; though that was thought to be a calumny, contrived to color his divorce with her, and his late marriage with Fulvia, the widow of Clodius [*u*].

CÆSAR was now in the heigth of all his glory, and *dreſſed, as* Florus, ſays, *in all his trappings, like a victim deſtined to ſacrifice* [*x*]. He had received from the Senate the moſt extravagant honors, both human and divine, which flattery could invent; *a Temple, Altar, Prieſt; his Image carried in proceſſion with the Gods; his Statue among the Kings; one of the months called after his name, and a perpetual Dictatorſhip* [*y*]. Cicero endeavoured to reſtrain the exceſs of this complaiſance, within *the bounds of reaſon* [*z*]; but in vain, ſince Cæſar was more forward to receive, than they to give; and out of the gaiety of his pride, and to try, as it were, to what length their adulation would reach; when he was actu-

[*t*] Cum Cæſar oſtendiſſet, ſe priuſquam proficiſceretur, Dolabellam Conſulem eſſe juſſurum—hic bonus Augur eo ſe ſacerdotio præditum eſſe dixit, ut comitia auſpiciis vel impedire vel vitiare poſſet, idque ſe facturum aſſeveravit. Phil. 2. 32.

[*u*] Frequentiſſimo ſenatu —hanc tibi eſſe cum Dolabella cauſam odii dicere auſus es, quod ab eo ſorori & uxori tuæ ſtuprum oblatum eſſe comperiſſes. Phil. 2. 38.

[*x*] Quæ omnia, velut infulæ, in deſtinatam morti victimam congerebantur. l. 4. 2. 92.

[*y*] Flor. ibid. Sueton. J. Cæſ. 76.

[*z*] Plutarch. in Cæſ.

ally

ally poſſeſſed of every thing, which carried with it any real power, was not content ſtill without a title, which could add nothing but envy, and popular odium; and wanted *to be called a King*. Plutarch thinks it a ſtrange inſtance of folly in the people to endure with patience all the real effects *of Kingly government*, yet declare ſuch an abhorrence *to the name*. But the folly was not ſo ſtrange in the people, as it was in Cæſar: it is natural to the multitude to be governed by names rather than things; and the conſtant art of parties to keep up that prejudice; but it was unpardonable in ſo great a man, as Cæſar, to lay ſo much ſtreſs on a title, which, ſo far from being an honor to him, ſeemed to be a diminution rather of that ſuperior dignity, which he already enjoyed.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 62. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR V. M. ANTONIUS.

AMONG the other compliments, that were paid to him, there was *a new fraternity of Luperci* inſtituted to his honor, and called by his name; of which Antony was the head. Young Quintus Cicero was one of this ſociety, with the conſent of his Father, though to the diſſatisfaction of his Uncle; who conſidered it, not onely as a low piece of flattery, but an indecency for a young man of family, to be engaged in ceremonies ſo immodeſt of running *naked and frantic about the Streets* [*a*]. The Feſtival was held about the *middle of February*; and Cæſar, *in his triumphal robe, ſeated himſelf in the Roſtra*, in a *golden Chair*, to ſee the diverſion of the running; where, in the midſt of their ſport, the Conſul Antony, at the head of his naked crew, *made him*

[*a*] Quintus Pater quartum vel potius mileſimum nihil ſapit, qui lætetur Luperco filio & Statio, ut cernat duplici dedecore cumulatam domum. Ad Att. 12. 5.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR V. M. ANTONIUS.

the offer of a Regal Diadem, and atempted to put it upon his head; at the ſight of which a *general groan iſſued from the whole Forum*; till upon Cæſar's ſlight refuſal of it, the people loudly teſtified their joy, *by an univerſal ſhout*. Antony however ordered it to be entered in the public acts, *that by the command of the people, he had offered the Kingly name and power to Cæſar, and that Cæſar would not accept it* [*b*].

WHILE this affair of *the Kingly Title* amuſed and alarmed the city, two of the Tribuns, Marullus and Cæſetius, were particularly active in diſcouraging every ſtep and attempt towards it: they *took off the Diadem*, which certain perſons had privately put upon Cæſar's *Statue in the Roſtra*, and committed thoſe to priſon, who were ſuſpected to have done it; and publicly puniſhed others for daring *to ſalute him in the ſtreets by the name of King*; declaring, *that Cæſar himſelf refuſed and abhorred that title*. This provoked Cæſar beyond his uſual temper, and command of himſelf; ſo that he accuſed them to the ſenate, *of a deſign to raiſe a ſedition againſt him, by perſuading the City, that he really affected to be a King*; but when the aſſembly was going to paſs the ſevereſt ſentence upon them, he was content *with depoſing them from their Magiſtracy, and expelling*

[*b*] Sedebat in Roſtris collega tuus, amictus toga purpurea, in ſella aurea, coronatus: adſcendis, accedis ad ſellam — diadema oſtendis: gemitus toto fore—tu diadema imponebas cum plangore populi, ille cum plauſu rejiciebat—at enim adſcribi juſſit in Faſtis ad Lupercalia, C. Cæſari, Dictatori perpetuo M. Antonium Conſulem populi juſſu regnum detuliſſe, Cæſarem uti noluiſſe. [Phil. 2. 34.] Quod ab eo ita repulſum erat, ut non offenſus videretur. Vell. P. 2. 56.

them

them from the Senate [c]: which convinced people ſtill the more, of his real fondneſs for a name, that he pretended to deſpiſe. A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR V. M ANTONIUS.

HE had now prepared all things for his expedition againſt the Parthians; had ſent his legions before him into Macedonia; ſettled the ſucceſſion of all the Magiſtrates *for two years to come* [d]; appointed Dolabella to take his own place, as Conſul of the current year; named A. Hirtius and C. Panſa, for Conſuls of the next; and D. Brutus, and Cn. Plancus, for the following year: but before his departure, he reſolved to have *the Regal Title* conferred upon him by the Senate, who were too ſenſible of his power, and obſequious to his will, to deny him any thing: and to make it the more palatable at the ſame time to the people, he cauſed a report to be induſtriouſly propagated through the city, *of ancient prophecies found in the Sibylline books, that the Parthians could not be conquered, but by a King*, on the ſtrength of which, *Cotta, one of the Guardians of thoſe books, was to move the Senate at their next meeting, to decree the title of king to him* [e]. Cicero ſpeaking afterwards of this deſign, ſays, *it was expected that ſome forged teſtimonies would be produced, to ſhew, that he, whom we had felt in reality to be a King, ſhould be called alſo by that name, if we would be ſafe: but let us make a bargain with the keepers of thoſe Oracles, that they bring any thing out of them, rather than a King;*

[c] Sueton. J. Cæſ. 79. Dio. p. 245. App. l. 2. p. 496. Vell. P. 2. 68.

[d] Etiamne Conſules & Tribunos plebis in biennium, quos ille voluit? Ad Att. 14. 6

[e] Proximo autem Senatu, L. Cottam Quindecim virum ſententiam dicturum; ut quoniam libris fatalibus contineretur, Parthos non niſi a Rege poſſe vinci, Cæſar Rex appellaretur. Sueton. c. 79. Dio. p. 247.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ.

which neither the Gods nor men will ever endure again at Rome [*f*].

C. JULIUS CÆSAR V. M. ANTONIUS.

ONE would naturally have expected, after all the fatigues and dangers through which Cæſar had made his way to Empire, that he would have choſen to ſpend the remainder of a declining life in the quiet enjoyment of all the honors and pleaſures, which abſolute power, and a command of the world could beſtow: but in the midſt of all this glory, he was a ſtranger ſtill to eaſe: he ſaw the people generally diſaffected to him, and impatient under his government; and though amuſed a while with the ſplendor of his ſhews and triumphs, yet regretting ſeverely in cool blood the price that they had paid for them; the loſs of their liberty, with the lives of the beſt and nobleſt of their fellow Citizens. This expedition therefore againſt the Parthians ſeems to have been a political pretext for removing himſelf from the murmurs of the City; and leaving to his Miniſters the exerciſe of an invidious power, and the taſk of taming the ſpirits of the populace; whilſt he, by employing himſelf in gathering freſh laurels in the Eaſt, and extending the bounds, and retrieving the honor of the Empire, againſt its moſt dreaded enemy, might gradually reconcile them to a reign, that was gentle and clement at home, ſucceſsfull and glorious abroad.

BUT his impatience to be *a King* defeated all

[*f*] Quorum Interpres nuper falſa quædam hominum fama dicturus in Senatu putabatur, eum, quem re vera regem habebamus, appellandum quoque eſſe Regem, ſi ſalvi eſſe vellemus—cum Antiſtibus agamus, ut quidvis potius ex illis libris, quam regem proferant, quem Romæ poſthac nec Dii nec homines eſſe patientur. De Divin. 2. 54.

his

his projects, and accelerated his fate; and puſhed on the nobles, who had conſpired againſt his life, to the immediate execution of their plot; that they might ſave themſelves the ſhame of being forced to concur in an act, which they heartily deteſted [*g*]: and the *Two* Brutus's in particular, the honor of whoſe houſe was founded in the extirpation of *Kingly Government*, could not but conſider it as a perſonal infamy, and a diſgrace to their very name, to ſuffer the reſtoration of it. A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR V. M. ANTONIUS.

THERE were *above ſixty perſons* ſaid to be engaged in *this conſpiracy* [*b*]; the greateſt part of them of the Senatorian rank; but M. Brutus, and C. Caſſius were the chief in credit and authority; the firſt contrivers and movers of the whole deſign.

M. JUNIUS BRUTUS was about one and forty years old; of the moſt illuſtrious family of the Republic; deriving his name and deſcent in a direct line from that firſt Conſul, L. Brutus, who expelled Tarquin, and gave freedom to the Roman people [*i*]. Having loſt his Father when very

[*g*] Quæ cauſa conjuratis fuit maturandi deſtinata negotia, ne aſſentiri neceſſe eſſet. Suet. J. Cæſ. 80. Dio. p. 247.

[*b*] Conſpiratum eſt in eum a Sexaginta amplius, C. Caſſio, Marcoque & Decimo Bruto principibus conſpirationis. Suet. 18.

[*i*] Some of the ancient writers call in queſtion this account of Brutus's deſcent; particularly Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, the moſt judicious and critical of them, who alledges ſeveral arguments againſt it, which ſeem to be very plauſible. Yet while Brutus lived, it was univerſally allowed to him. Cicero mentions it in his public ſpeeches, and other writings, as a fact, that no body doubted; and often ſpeaks of the *Image of old Brutus*, which Marcus kept in his houſe among thoſe of his Anceſtors: and Atticus, who was peculiarly curious in the antiquities of the Roman families, drew up *Brutus's genealogy* for him, and deduced his ſucceſſion from that old Hero,

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. C. JULIUS. CÆSAR V. M. ANTONIUS.

very young, he was trained with great care by his uncle Cato, in all the ſtudies of polite letters, eſpecially of eloquence and Philoſophy, and under the diſcipline of ſuch a Tutor, imbibed a warm love for liberty and virtue. He had excellent parts, and equal induſtry, and acquired an early fame at the bar; where he pleaded ſeveral cauſes of great importance, and was eſteemed the moſt eloquent and learned of all the young nobles of his age. His manner of ſpeaking was correct, elegant, judicious, yet wanting that force and copiouſneſs, which is required in a conſummate Orator. But Philoſophy was his favorite ſtudy; in which, though he profeſſed himſelf of the more moderate ſect of *the old Academy*, yet from a certain pride and gravity of temper, he affected the ſeverity of *the Stoic*; and to imitate his uncle Cato; to which he was wholly unequal: for he was of a mild, mercifull, and compaſſionate diſpoſition; averſe to every thing cruel: and was often forced by the tenderneſs of his nature to confute the rigor of his principles. While his mother lived in the greateſt familiarity with Cæſar, he was conſtantly attached to the

Hero, in a direct line through all the intermediate ages from father to ſon. Corn. Nep. vit. Att. 18. Tuſcul. Diſp. 4. 1.

He was born in the Conſulſhip of L. Cornelius Cinna III. and Cn. Papirius Carbo; A. U. 668. which fully confutes the vulgar ſtory of his being commonly believed to be *Cæſar's ſon*, ſince he was but fifteen years younger than Cæſar himſelf: whoſe familiarity with his mother Servilia, cannot be ſuppoſed to have commenced, till many years after Brutus was born; or not till Cæſar had loſt his firſt wife Cornelia, whom he married when he was very young, and always tenderly loved; and whoſe *funeral oration* he made when he was *Quæſtor*, and conſequently *thirty years old*. Vid. Sueton. J. Cæſ. c. 1, 6, 50. it. Brut. p. 343. 447. & Corradi notas.

oppoſite

oppoſite party, and firm to the intereſts of liberty: for the ſake of which he followed Pompey, whom he hated, and acted on that ſide, with a diſtinguiſhed zeal. At the battel of Pharſalia, Cæſar gave particular orders to find out and preſerve Brutus; being deſirous to draw him from the purſuit of a cauſe, that was likely to prove fatal to him: ſo that when Cato, with the reſt of the Chiefs, went to renew the war in Afric, he was induced by Cæſar's generoſity and his mother's prayers, to lay down his arms, and return to Italy. Cæſar endeavoured to oblige him by all the honours which his power could beſtow; but the indignity of receiving from a Maſter, what he ought to have received from a free people, ſhocked him much more than any honors could oblige; and the ruin, in which he ſaw his friends involved by Cæſar's uſurped dominion, gave him a diſguſt, which no favors could compenſate. He obſerved therefore a diſtance and reſerve through Cæſar's reign; aſpired to no ſhare of his confidence, or part in his counſils, and by the uncourtly vehemence, with which he defended the rights of *King* Deiotarus, convinced Cæſar, that he could never be obliged, where he did not find himſelf free. He cultivated all the while the ſtricteſt friendſhip with Cicero, whoſe principles, he knew, were utterly averſe to the meaſures of the times; and in whoſe free converſation, he uſed to mingle his own complaints on the unhappy ſtate of the Republic, and the wretched hands into which it was fallen; till animated by theſe conferences, and confirmed by the general diſcontent of all the honeſt, he formed the bold deſign of freeing his Country by the deſtruction of Cæſar. He had publicly defended Milo's act of *killing Clodius*, by a maxim,

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR V. C. ANTONIUS.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR V. M. ANTONIUS.

which he maintained to be univerſally true, *that thoſe, who live in defiance of the laws, and cannot be brought to a trial, ought to be taken off without a trial.* The caſe was applicable to Cæſar in a much higher degree than to Clodius; whoſe power had placed him above the reach of the law, and left no way of puniſhing him, but by an *aſſaſſination.* This therefore was Brutus's motive; and Antony did him the juſtice to ſay, that he *was the onely one of the conſpiracy, who entered into it out of principle; that the reſt, from private malice, roſe up againſt the man, he alone againſt the Tyrant* [*k*].

C. CASSIUS was deſcended likewiſe from a family, not leſs honorable or ancient, nor leſs zealous for the public liberty, than Brutus's: whoſe Anceſtor, Sp. Caſſius, after a triumph of three conſulſhips, is ſaid to have been condemned, and put to death, by his own Father, for aiming at a dominion. He ſhewed a remarkable inſtance, when a boy, of his high ſpirit and love of liberty; for *he gave Sylla's Son, Fauſtus, a box on the ear, for bragging among his ſchool-*

[*k*] Natura admirabilis, & exquiſita doctrina, & ſingularis induſtria. Cum enim in maximis cauſis verſatus eſſes —[Brut. 26.] quo magis tuum, Brute, judicium probo, qui eorum, id eſt, *ex vetere academia*, philoſophorum ſectam ſecutus es, quorum in doctrina & præceptis diſſerendi ratio conjungitur cum ſuavitate dicendi & copia. [Brut. 219.] Nam cum inambularem in Xyſto.—M. ad me Brutus, ut conſueverat, cum T. Pomponio venerat—[Brut. 15.] tum Brutus—itaque doleo & illius conſilio & tua voce populum Rom. carere tamdiu. Quod cum per ſe dolendum eſt, tum multo magis conſideranti, ad quos iſta non tranſlata ſint, ſed neſcio quo pacto devenerint. [Brut. 269.]

Ἀλλ' Ἀντωνίῳ γε καὶ πολλοῖς ἀκοῦσαι λέγουσιν, ὡς μόνον οἴοιτο Βροῦτον ἐπιθέσθαι Καίσαρι, προαχθέντα τῇ λαμπρότητι καὶ τῷ φαινομένῳ καλῷ τῆς πράξεως—vid. Plut. in Brut. p. 997. it. App. p. 498

fellows,

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fellows, of his Father's greatneſs and abſolute power; and when Pompey called the boys before him, to give an account of their quarrel, he declared in his preſence, *that if Fauſtus ſhould dare to repeat the words, he would repeat the blow.* He was Quæſtor to Craſſus, in the Parthian war, where he greatly ſignalized both his courage and ſkill; and if Craſſus had followed his advice, would have preſerved the whole army; but after their miſerable defeat, he made good his retreat into Syria with the remains of the broken legions: and when the Parthians, fluſhed with ſucceſs, purſued him thither ſoon after, and blocked him up in Antioch, he preſerved that City and Province from falling into their hands; and, watching his opportunity, gained a conſiderable victory over them, with the deſtruction of their General. In the civil war, after the battel of Pharſalia, he ſailed with *ſeventy Ships* to the coaſt of Aſia, to raiſe freſh forces in that country, and renew the war againſt Cæſar; but, as the Hiſtorians tell us, happening to meet with Cæſar croſſing *the Helleſpont*, in a common paſſage-boat, inſtead of deſtroying him, as he might have done, he was ſo terrified by the ſight of the Conqueror, that he begged his life in an abject manner, and delivered up his fleet to him. But Cicero gives us a hint of a quite different ſtory, which is much more probable, and worthy of Caſſius; that having got intelligence where Cæſar deſigned to land, he lay in wait for him, in *a bay of Cilicia*, at the mouth of the river Cydnus, with a reſolution to deſtroy him; *but Cæſar happening to land on the oppoſite ſhoar before he was aware*, ſo that ſeeing his project blaſted, and Cæſar ſecured in a country where all people were declaring for him, he thought it beſt

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beſt to make his own peace too, by going over to him with his fleet. He married Tertia, the Siſter of Brutus; and though differing in temper and philoſophy, was ſtrictly united with him in friendſhip and politics; and the conſtant partner of all his counſils. He was brave, witty, learned; yet paſſionate, fierce, and cruel; ſo that *Brutus was the more amiable friend, he the more dangerous enemy:* in his later years he deſerted the Stoics, and became a convert to Epicurus; whoſe doctrine he thought more natural and reaſonable; conſtantly maintaining, *that the pleaſure, which their maſter recommended, was to be found onely in the habitual practice of juſtice and virtue*; while he profeſſed himſelf therefore an Epicurean, he lived like a Stoic; was moderate in pleaſures, temperate in diet, and a water-drinker through life. He attached himſelf very early to the obſervance of Cicero; as all the young Nobles did, who had any thing great or laudable in view: this friendſhip was confirmed by a conformity of their ſentiments in the civil war, and in Cæſar's reign; during which, ſeveral Letters paſſed between them, written with a freedom and familiarity, which is to be found only in the moſt intimate correſpondence. In theſe letters, though Cicero rallies his Epicuriſm, and change of principles, yet he allows him to have acted always with the greateſt honor and integrity; and pleaſantly ſays, *that he ſhould begin to think that ſect to have more nerves, than he imagined, ſince Caſſius had embraced it.* The old writers aſſign ſeveral frivolous reaſons of diſguſt, as the motives of his killing Cæſar: *that Cæſar took a number of Lions from him, which he had provided for a public ſhew; that he would not give him the Conſulſhip; that he gave Brutus the more honorable Prætorſhip*

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torſhip in preference to him. But we need not look farther for the true motive, than to his temper and principles: for his nature was ſingularly impetuous and violent; impatient of contradiction, and much more of ſubjection; and paſſionately fond of glory, virtue, liberty: it was from theſe qualities, that Cæſar apprehended his danger; and when admoniſhed to beware of Antony and Dolabella, uſed to ſay, *that it was not the gay, the curled, and the jovial, whom he had cauſe to fear, but the thoughtful, the pale, and the lean; meaning Brutus and Caſſius* [*l*].

THE

[*l*] C. Caſſius in ea familia natus, quæ non modo dominatum, ſed ne potentiam quidem cujuſquam ferre potuit. [Phil. 2. 11.] Quem ubi primum magiſtratu abiit, damnatumque conſtat. Sunt qui patrem actorem ejus ſupplicii ferant. Eum cognita domi cauſa verberaſſe ac necaſſe, peculiumque filii Cereri conſecraviſſe. [Liv. 2. 41.] Cujus filium, Fauſtum, C. Caſſius condiſcipulum ſuum in ſchola, proſcriptionem paternam laudantem — colapho percuſſit. [Val. Max. 3. 1. vid. Plutar. in Brut.] Reliquias legionum C. Caſſius — Quæſtor conſervavit, Syriamque adeo in populi Romani poteſtate retinuit, ut tranſgreſſos in eum Parthos, felici rerum eventu fugaret ac funderet. [Vell. Pat. 2. 46. it. Phil. xi. 14.] οὐδὲ ἔργον ἕτερον ἡγεῖμαι τύχης ἐν ἀπόρῳ καιρῷ γενέθαι μᾶλλον, ἢ Χάσσιον τὸν πολεμικώταλον ἐπὶ τριηρῶν ἑβδομήκοντα ἀπαρασκεύῳ Καίσαρι συνλυκόντα, μηδ' ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν ὑποσῆναι, ὁ δ' οὕτως ἑαυτὸν αἰσχρῶς ὑπὸ φόβου μόνου παραπλέοντι παραδύς, ὕστερον ἐν Ῥώμῃ δυναστεύοντα ἤδη κατέκλανεν. [App. 2. 483. it. Dio. l. 42. 188. Sueton. J. Cæſ. 63.] C. Caſſius—ſine his clariſſimis viris hanc rem in Cilicia ad oſtium fluminis Cydni confeciſſet, ſi ille ad eam ripam, quam conſtituerat, non ad contrariam naves appuliſſet. [Phil. 2. 11.] e quibus Brutum amicum habere malles, inimicum magis timeres Caſſium. [Vell. P. 2. 72.] ἡδονὴν vero, & ἀταραξίαν virtute juſtitia, τῷ καλῷ parari, & verum & probabile eſt. Ipſe enim Epicurus — dicit. οὐκ ἔστιν ἡδέως ἄνευ τοῦ καλῶς καὶ δικαίως, ζῆν. [Ep. Fam. 15. 19.] Caſſius tota vita aquam bibit. [Senec. 547.] Quanquam quicum loquor? cum uno fortiſſimo viro; qui poſtea quam forum attigiſti, nihil

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THE next in authority to Brutus and Caſſius, though very different from them in character, were Decimus Brutus, and C. Trebonius: they had both been conſtantly devoted to Cæſar; and were ſingularly favored, advanced, and entruſted by him in all his wars; ſo that when Cæſar marched firſt into Spain, he left them to command *the ſiege of Marſeilles, Brutus by ſea, Trebonius by land*; in which they acquitted themſelves with the greateſt courage and ability, and reduced that ſtrong place to the neceſſity of ſurrendering at diſcretion. Decimus was of the ſame family with his nameſake, Marcus; and Cæſar, as if jealous of a name, that inſpired an averſion to Kings, was particularly ſolicitous to gain them both to his intereſt; and ſeemed to have ſucceeded to his wiſh in Decimus; who forwardly embraced his friendſhip, and accepted all his favors; being named by him *to the command of Ciſalpine Gaul, and to the Conſulſhip of the following year, and the ſecond heir of his eſtate, in failure of the firſt.* He ſeems to have had no peculiar character of virtue, or patriotiſm, nor any correſpondence with Cicero, before the act of killing Cæſar; ſo that people, inſtead of expecting it from him, were ſurpriſed at his doing it: yet he was brave, generous, magnificent, and lived with great ſplendor, in the enjoyment of an immenſe fortune; for he kept *a numerous band of Gladiators*, at his own expence, for the diverſion of the City; and after Cæſar's death, ſpent *about four hundred thouſand pounds* of his own

nihil feciſti niſi pleniſſimum ampliſſimæ dignitatis. In iſta ipſa αἱρέσει metuo ne plus nervorum ſit, quam ego putarim, ſi modo eam tu probas. [Ep. Fam. 15. 16.] Differendo conſulatum Caſſium offenderat. [Vell. P. 2. 56. it. Plut. in Brut. App. 408.]

money

money, in maintaining an army againſt Antony [*m*]. A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR V. M. ANTONIUS.

TREBONIUS had no family to boaſt of, but was wholly a new man, and the creature of Cæſar's power, who produced him through all the honors of the State, to his late conſulſhip of three months: Antony calls him the *Son of a Buffoon*; but Cicero, *of a ſplendid Knight*: he was a man of parts, prudence, integrity, humanity; was converſant alſo in the politer arts, and had a peculiar turn to wit and humor: for, after Cæſar's death, he publiſhed *a volume of Cicero's ſayings*, which he had taken the pains to collect; upon which Cicero compliments him, for having explained them with great elegance, and given them a freſh force and beauty, by his humorous manner of introducing them. As the Hiſtorians have not ſuggeſted any reaſon that ſhould move either him or Decimus to the reſolution of killing a man, to whom they were infinitely obliged; ſo we may reaſonably impute it, as Cicero does, to a greatneſs of ſoul, and ſuperior love of their country, which made them *prefer the liberty of Rome to the friendſhip of any man; and chuſe rather to be the deſtroyers, than the partners of a Tyranny* [*n*].

THE

[*m*] Adjectis etiam conſiliariis cœdis, familiariſſimis omnium, & fortuna partium ejus in ſummum evectis faſtigium, D. Bruto & C. Trebonio, aliiſque clari nominis viris. [Vell. P. 2. 56.] Pluresque percurſorum in tutoribus filii nominavit: Decimum Brutum etiam in ſecundis heredibus. [Suetor. J. Cæſ. 83.] Vid. Cæſ. Comm. de Bell. civil. l. 2. Plut. in Brut. App. p. 497, 518. Dio. l. 44. 247. &c. D. Brutus—cum Cæſaris primus omnium amicorum fuiſſet, interfector fuit. Vell. P. 2. 64.

[*n*] Scurræ filium appellat Antonius. Quaſi vero ignotus nobis fuerit ſplendidus Eques Romanus Trebonii pater.

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THE reſt of the conſpirators were partly *young men*, of noble blood, eager to revenge the ruin of their fortunes and families; *partly men obſcure, and unknown to the public* [*o*]; yet whoſe fidelity and courage had been approved by Brutus and Caſſius. It was agreed by them all in council to execute their deſign in the Senate, which was ſummoned to meet *on the Ides*, or fifteenth of March: they knew that the Senate would applaud it when done, and even aſſiſt, if there was occaſion, in the doing it [*p*]; and there was a circumſtance, which peculiarly encouraged them, and ſeemed to be even ominous; that it happened to be *Pompey's Senate Houſe*, in which their attempt was to be made; and where Cæſar would conſequently fall *at the foot of Pompey's Statue*, as a juſt ſacrifice to the *manes* of that great man [*q*]. They took it alſo for granted, that the City would be generally on their ſide, yet for their greater ſecurity, *D. Brutus gave orders, to arm his Gladiators that morning, as if for ſome public ſhew*, that they might be ready, on the firſt no-

ter. [Phil. 13. 10.] Trebonii — conſilium, ingenium, humanitatem, innocentiam, magnitudinem animi in patria liberanda quis ignorat? [Phil. xi. 4.] liber iſte, quem mihi miſiſti, quantam habet declarationem amoris tui? primum, quod tibi facetum videtur quicquid ego dixi, quod aliis fortaſſe non item: deinde, quod illa, ſive facета ſunt, ſive ſic fiunt narrante te venuſtiſſima. Quin etiam antequam ad me veniatur, riſus omnis pæne conſumitur, &c. [Ep. Fam. 15. 21. it. 12. 16.] Qui libertatem populi Romani unius amicitiæ præpoſuit, depulſorque dominatus, quam particeps eſſe maluit. Phil. 2. 11.

[*o*] In tot hominibus, partim obſcuris, partim adoleſcentibus, &c. Phil. 2. 11.

[*p*] ὡς τῶν βουλευτῶν, εἰ καὶ μὴ προμάθοιεν, προθύμως, ὅτι ἴδοιεν τὸν ἔργον, συνεπιληψομένων. App. 499.

[*p*] Poſtquam Senatus idibus Martiis in Pompeii curiam edictus eſt, facile tempus & locum prætulerunt. [Sueton. 80.]

tice;

tice, to ſecure the avenues of the Senate, and defend them from any ſudden violence; and *Pompey's Theatre*, which adjoined *to his Senate-houſe*, being the propereſt place for the exerciſe of the Gladiators, would cover all ſuſpicion, that might otherwiſe ariſe from them. The onely deliberation that perplexed them, and on which they were much divided, was whether they ſhould not kill *Antony alſo*, and *Lepidus*, *together with Cæſar*; eſpecially Antony; the more ambitious of the two, and the more likely to create freſh danger to the commonwealth. Caſſius, with a majority of the company, was warmly for killing him: but the *two Brutus's* as warmly oppoſed, and finally over-ruled it: they alledged, "that "to ſhed more blood than was neceſſary, would "diſgrace their cauſe, and draw upon them an "imputation of cruelty; and of acting not as "Patriots, but as the Partizans of Pompey; not "ſo much to free the City, as to revenge themſelves on their enemies, and get the dominion "of it into their hands." But what weighed with them the moſt, was a vain perſuaſion, that Antony would be tractable, and eaſily reconciled, as ſoon as the affair was over: but this lenity proved their ruin; and by leaving their work imperfect, defeated all the benefit of it; as we find Cicero afterwards often reproaching them in his Letters [*r*].

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MANY prodigies are mentioned by the Hiſtorians to have given warning of Cæſar's death [*s*]: which having been forged by ſome, and

[*r*] Plutar. in Cæſ. App. 2. 499, 502. Dio. 247, 248. Quam vellem ad illas pulcherrimas epulas me Idibus Martiis invitaſſes. Reliquiarum nihil haberemus. Ep. Fam. x. 28. 12. 4. ad Brut. 2. 7.

[*s*] Sed Cæſari futura cædes evidentibus prodigiis denunciata eſt, &c. Sueton. 81. Plut. in vit.

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credulouſly received by others, were copied, as uſual, by all, to ſtrike the imagination of their readers, and raiſe an awful attention to an event, in which the Gods were ſuppoſed to be intereſted. Cicero has related one of the moſt remarkable of them; "that as Cæſar was ſacrificing a little be-
"fore his death, with great pomp and ſplendor,
"in *his triumphal robes and golden chair*, the vic-
"tim, which was a fat Ox, was found to be
"*without a heart*: and when Cæſar ſeemed to be
"ſhocked at it, Spurinna, the Haruſpex, admo-
"niſhed him to beware, leſt through a failure,
"in *council*, his *life* ſhould be cut off, ſince the
"heart was the ſeat and ſource of them both.
"The next day he ſacrificed again, in hopes to
"find the entrails more propitious; but the liver
"of the bullock appeared to *want its head*,
"which was reckoned alſo among the direfull
"omens [*t*]." Theſe facts, though ridiculed

[*t*] De Divin. 1. 52. 2. 16. Theſe caſes of victims found ſometimes *without a heart or liver*, gave riſe to a curious queſtion among thoſe who believed the reality of this kind of *divination*, as the *Stoics* generally did, how to account for the cauſe of ſo ſtrange a phænomenon. The common ſolution was, that the Gods made ſuch changes inſtantaneouſly, in the moment of ſacrificing, by annihilating or altering the condition of the entrails ſo, as to make them correſpond with the circumſtances of the Sacrificer, and the admonition which they intended to give. [De Div. ibid.] But this was laughed at by the Naturaliſts, as wholly unphiloſophical, who thought it abſurd to imagine, that the Deity could either annihilate, or create; either reduce any thing to nothing, or form any thing out of nothing. What ſeems the moſt probable, is, that if the facts really happened, they were contrived by Cæſar's friends, and the heart conveyed away by ſome artifice, to give them a better pretence of enforcing their admonitions, and putting Cæſar upon his guard againſt dangers, which they really apprehended, from quite different reaſons, than the pretended denunciations of the Gods.

by

by Cicero, were publicly affirmed and believed at the time; and ſeem to have raiſed a general rumor through the City, of ſome ſecret danger that threatened Cæſar's life; ſo that his friends being alarmed at it, were endeavouring to inſtill the ſame apprehenſion into Cæſar himſelf; and had ſucceeded ſo far, as to ſhake his reſolution of going that day to the Senate, when it was actually aſſembled by his ſummons in Pompey's Senate-houſe; till D. Brutus, by rallying thoſe fears as unmanly and unworthy of him, and alledging, that his abſence would be interpreted as an affront to the aſſembly, drew him out againſt his will to meet his deſtined fate [*u*]. A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR V. M. ANTONIUS.

IN the morning of the fatal day, M. Brutus and C. Caſſius appeared, according to cuſtom, in the Forum, ſitting in their *Prætorian Tribunals*, to hear and determine cauſes; where, though they had daggers under their gowns, they ſat with the ſame calmneſs as if they had nothing upon their minds; till the news of Cæſar's coming out to the Senate, called them away to the performance of their part in the tragical act; which they executed at laſt with ſuch reſolution, that through the eagerneſs of ſtabbing Cæſar, they wounded even one another [*x*].

THUS fell Cæſar on *the celebrated Ides of March*; after he had advanced himſelf to a heigth of power, which no Conqueror had ever attained before him; though to raiſe the mighty Fabric, he had made more deſolation in the world than any man perhaps, who ever lived in it. He uſed to ſay, *that his conqueſt in Gaul had coſt a-*

[*u*] Plutar. in J. Cæſ.
[*x*] Ib. in Brut. App. 2. 505.

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bout a million, and two hundred thouſand lives [*y*]; and if we add the civil wars to the account, they could not coſt the Republic much leſs, in the more valuable blood of its beſt Citizens: yet when, through a perpetual courſe of faction, violence, rapine, ſlaughter, he had made his way at laſt to Empire, he did not enjoy the quiet poſſeſſion of it *above five months* [*z*].

HE was endowed with every great and noble quality, that could exalt human nature, and give a man the aſcendant in ſociety: formed to excell in peace, as well as war, provident in counſil; fearleſs in action; and executing what he had reſolved with an amazing celerity: generous beyond meaſure to his friends; placable to his enemies; and for parts, learning, eloquence, ſcarce inferior to any man. His orations were admired for two qualities which are ſeldom found together, *ſtrength and elegance:* Cicero ranks him among the greateſt orators, that Rome ever bred: and Quintilian ſays, *that he ſpoke with the ſame force with which he fought; and if he had devoted himſelf to the bar, would have been the onely man capable of rivalling Cicero.* Nor was he a maſter onely of the politer arts; but converſant alſo with the moſt abſtruſe and critical part of learning; and among other works which he publiſhed, addreſſed *two books to Cicero, on the Analogy of language*, or the art of ſpeaking and writing correctly [*a*]. He was a moſt liberal Patron of wit

[*y*] Undecies centena & nonaginta duo hominum millia occiſa prœliis ab eo—quod ita eſſe confeſſus eſt ipſe, bellorum civilium ſtragem non prodendo. Plin. Hiſt. 7. 25.

[*z*] Neque illi tanto viro—pluſquam quinque menſium principalis quies contigit—Vell. Pat. 2. 56.

[*a*] It was in the dedication of this piece to Cicero, that

wit and learning, whereſoever they were found; and out of his love of thoſe talents, would readily pardon thoſe, who had employed them againſt himſelf: rightly judging, *that by* making ſuch men his friends, *he ſhould draw praiſes from the ſame fountain, from which he had been aſperſed.* His capital paſſions were *ambition and love of pleaſure*; which he indulged in their turns to the greateſt exceſs: yet the firſt was always predominant; to which he could eaſily ſacrifice all the charms of the ſecond, and draw pleaſure even from toils and dangers, when they miniſtred to his glory. For *he thought Tyranny*, as Cicero ſays, *the greateſt of Goddeſſes*; and had frequently in his mouth a verſe of Euripides, which expreſſed the image of his ſoul, *that if right and juſtice were ever to be violated, they were to be violated for the ſake of reigning.* This was the chief end and purpoſe of his life; the ſcheme that he had formed from his early youth; ſo that, as Cato truly declared of him, *he came with ſobriety and meditation to the ſubverſion of the Republic.* He uſed to ſay, *that there were two things neceſſary, to acquire and to ſupport power*; *ſoldiers and money*; which yet depended mutually on each other: with money therefore he provided ſoldiers; and with ſoldiers extorted money: and was of all men the moſt rapacious in plundering, both friends and foes; ſparing neither *Prince nor State, nor Temple, nor even private perſon*, who were known to poſſeſs any ſhare of treaſure. His great abilities would neceſſarily have made him one of the firſt Citizens of Rome; but diſdaining

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that Cæſar paid him the compliment, which Pliny mentions, of his having *acquired a laurel, ſuperior to that of all triumphs, as it was more glorious to extend the bounds of the Roman wit, than of their Empire.* Hiſt. N. 7. 30.

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the condition of a ſubject, he could never reſt, till he had made himſelf *a Monarch*. In acting this laſt part, his uſual prudence ſeemed to fail him; as if the heigth to which he was mounted, had turned his head, and made him giddy: for, by a vain oſtentation of his power, he deſtroyed the ſtability of it; and as men ſhorten life, by living too faſt, ſo by an intemperance of reigning, he brought his reign to a violent end [*b*].

IT was a common queſtion after his death, and propoſed as a problem by Livy, *whether it was of ſervice to the Republic, that he had ever*

[*b*] De Cæſare & ipſe ita judico—illum omnium fere Oratorum latinè loqui elegantiſſime—& id—multis litteris, & iis quidem reconditis & exquiſitis, ſummoque ſtudio ac diligentia eſt conſecutus.—[Brut. 370.] C. vero Cæſar ſi foro tantum vacaſſet, non alius ex noſtris contra Ciceronem nominaretur, tanta in eo vis eſt, id acumen, ea concitatio, ut illum eodem animo dixiſſe, quo bellavit, appareat. [Quintil. x. 1.] C. Cæſar, in libris, quos ad M. Ciceronem de Analogia conſcripſit—[A. Gell. 19. 8.] Quin etiam in maximis occupationibus cum ad te ipſum, inquit, de ratione latine loquendi accuratiſſime ſcripſerit—[Brut. 370. vid. it. Sueton. 56.] in Cæſare hæc ſunt, mitis, clemenſque natura—accedit, quod mirifice ingeniis excellentibus, quale tuum eſt, delectatur—eodem fonte ſe hauſturum intelligit laudes ſuas, e quo ſit leviter aſperſus. [Ep. Fam. 6. 6.] τὴν θεῶν μεγίςην ὥς' ἔχειν τυραννίδα. [Ad Att. 7. 11.] ipſe autem in ore ſemper græcos verſus de Phœniſſis habebat—

Nam ſi violandum eſt jus, regnandi gratia
Violandum eſt: aliis rebus pietatem colas.

[Offic. 3. 21.]

Cato dixit, C. Cæſarem ad evertendam rempublicam, ſobrium acceſſiſſe. [Quintil. l. 8. 2.] Abſtinentiam neque in Imperiis neque in Magiſtratibus præſtitit—in Gallia fana, templaque Deum donis referta expilavit: urbes diruit, ſæpius ob prædam quam delictum—evidentiſſimis rapinis, ac Sacrilegiis onera bellorum civilium—ſuſtinuit. [Sueton. c. 54. vid. it. Dio. p. 208.]

been born [c]. The queſtion did not turn on the ſimple merit of his acts, for that would bear no diſpute, but on the accidental effects of them; their producing the ſettlement under Auguſtus, and the benefits of that government; which was the conſequence of his Tyranny. Suetonius, who treats the characters of the Cæſars with that freedom, which the happy reigns, in which he lived, indulged, upon balancing the exact ſumm *of his virtues and vices*, declares him, on the whole, *to have been juſtly killed* [d]: which appears to have been the general ſenſe of the beſt, the wiſeſt and the moſt diſintereſted in Rome, at the time when the fact was committed. A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR V. M. ANTONIUS.

THE onely queſtion which ſeemed to admit any diſpute, was, whether it ought to have been committed by thoſe, who were the leaders in it [e]; ſome of whom owed their lives to Cæſar; and others had been loaded by him with honors, to a degree, that helped to encreaſe the popular odium; particularly D. Brutus, who was the moſt cheriſhed by him of them all, *and left by his will, the ſecond heir of his eſtate* [f]. For, of *the Two Brutus's*, it was not Marcus, as it is commonly imagined, but Decimus, who was *the favorite, and whoſe part in the conſpiracy ſurprized people the moſt* [g]. But this circumſtance ſerved onely for a different handle to the different parties, for aggra-

[c] Vid. Senec. Natur. Quæſt. l. 5. 18. p. 766.

[d] Prægravant tamen cætera facta, dictaque ejus, ut & abuſus dominatione & jure cæſus exiſtimetur. Sueton. c. 76.

[e] Diſputari de M. Bruto ſolet, an debuerit accipere a D. Julio vitam, cum occidendum eum judicaret. Senec. de Benef. l. 2. 20.

[f] Appian. 2. 518.

[g] Etſi eſt enim Brutorum commune factum & laudis ſocietas æqua, Decimo tamen iratiores erant ii, qui id factum dolebant, quo minus ab eo rem illam dicebant fieri debuiſſe. Philip. x. 7.

vating

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vating either their crime, or their merit. Cæſar's friends charged them with *baſe ingratitude*, for killing their Benefactor, and abuſing the power which he had given to the deſtruction of the giver. The other ſide gave a contrary turn to it; extolled the greater virtue of the men, for not being diverted by private conſiderations, from doing an act of public benefit: Cicero takes it always in this view, and ſays, "That the Re-"public was the more indebted to them, for "preferring the common good, to the friend-"ſhip of any man whatſoever; that as to the "kindneſs of giving them their lives, it was the "kindneſs onely of a Robber, who had firſt "done them the greater wrong, by uſurping "the power to take it: that, if there had been "any ſtain of ingratitude in the act, they could "never have acquired ſo much glory by it; and "though he wondered indeed at ſome of them "for doing it, rather than ever imagined, that "they would have done it; yet he admired "them ſo much the more, for being regardleſs "of favors, that they might ſhew their regard "to their Country [*b*]."

SOME of Cæſar's friends, particularly Panſa and Hirtius, adviſed him always to keep a ſtanding guard of Prætorian Troops, for the defence of his perſon; alledging, *that a power acquired by arms muſt neceſſarily be maintained by arms:* but his

[*b*] Quod eſt aliud beneficium — latronum, niſi ut commemorare poſſint, iis ſe dediſſe vitam, quibus non ademerint? quod ſi eſſet beneficium, nunquam ii qui illum interfecerunt, a quo erant ſervati,—tantum eſſent gloriam conſecuti. Phil. 2. 3. Quo etiam majorem ei Reſpub. gratiam debet, qui libertatem populi Romani unius amicitiæ præpoſuit, depulſorque dominatus quam particeps eſſe maluit— admiratus ſum ob eam cauſam, quod immemor beneficiorum, memor patriæ fuiſſet.—ib. 11.

common

common anſwer was, *that he had rather die once by treachery, than live always in fear of it* [*i*]. He uſed to laugh at Sylla for reſtoring the liberty of the Republic; and to ſay in contempt of him, *that he did not know his letters* [*k*]. But, as a judicious writer has obſerved, Sylla *had learnt a better Grammar than he; which taught him to reſign his guards and his government together: whereas Cæſar, by diſmiſſing the one, yet retaining the other, committed a dangerous ſoleciſm in politics* [*l*]; for he ſtrengthened the popular odium, and conſequently his own danger, while he weakened his defence. A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coſſ. C. JULIUS CÆSAR V. M. ANTONIUS.

HE made ſeveral good laws during his adminiſtration, all tending to enforce the public diſcipline, and extend the penalties of former laws. The moſt conſiderable, as well as the moſt uſefull of them was, *that no Prætor ſhould hold any Province more than one year, nor a Conſul more than two* [*m*]. This was a regulation, that *had been often wiſhed for*, as Cicero ſays, *in the beſt of times*; and what one of the ableſt *Dictators of the old Republic* had declared to be its chief ſecurity, *not to ſuffer great and arbitrary commands to be of long duration*; *but to limit them at leaſt in time, if it was not con-*

[*i*] Laudandum experientia conſilium eſt Panſæ atque Hirtii: qui ſemper prædixerant Cæſari, ut principatum armis quæſitum armis teneret. Ille dictitans, mori ſe quam timeri malle. Vel. P. 2. 57.

Inſidias undique imminentes ſubire ſemel confeſſum ſatius eſſe, quam cavere ſemper. Sueton. c. 86.

[*k*] Nec minoris impotentiæ voces propalam edebat—Syllam neſciſſe litteras, qui Dictaturam depoſuerit. Sueton. 77.

[*l*] Vid. Sir H. Savile's Diſſertat. de *Militia Rom.* at the end of his tranſlation of Tacitus.

[*m*] Phil 1. 8. Sueton. J. Cæſ. 42, 43.

venient

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venient to limit them in power [*n*]. Cæſar knew by experience, that the prolongation of theſe extraordinary commands, and the habit of ruling Kingdoms was the readieſt way, not onely to inſpire a contempt of the laws, but to give a man the power to ſubvert them; and he hoped therefore by this law, to prevent any other man from doing what he himſelf had done, and to ſecure his own poſſeſſion from the attempts of all future invaders.

[*n*] Quæ lex melior, utilior, optima etiam Repub. ſæpius flagitata, quam ne Prætoriæ provinciæ plus quam annum, neve plus quam biennium conſulares obtinerentur?—Phil. 1. 8. Mamercus Æmilius—maximam autem, ait, ejus cuſtodiam eſſe, ſi magna imperia diuturna non eſſent, & temporis modus imponeretur, quibus juris imponi non poſſet. Liv. l. 4. 24.

The End of the SECOND VOLUME.

